

HERODOTUS

BOOK VII

Partly in the Original and partly in
Translation

C. E. ROBINSON & OTHERS



OXFORD
AT THE CLARENDON PRESS

PA
4002
A37
R7
1922
IMS

Edmund Lebour

~~133 Rhodes Ave.~~ 82 Main St.

Toronto. 13

St. Michael's College School
Bathurst & St. Clair
Room 13-2

~~Robert O'Halloran~~ E.S. '83

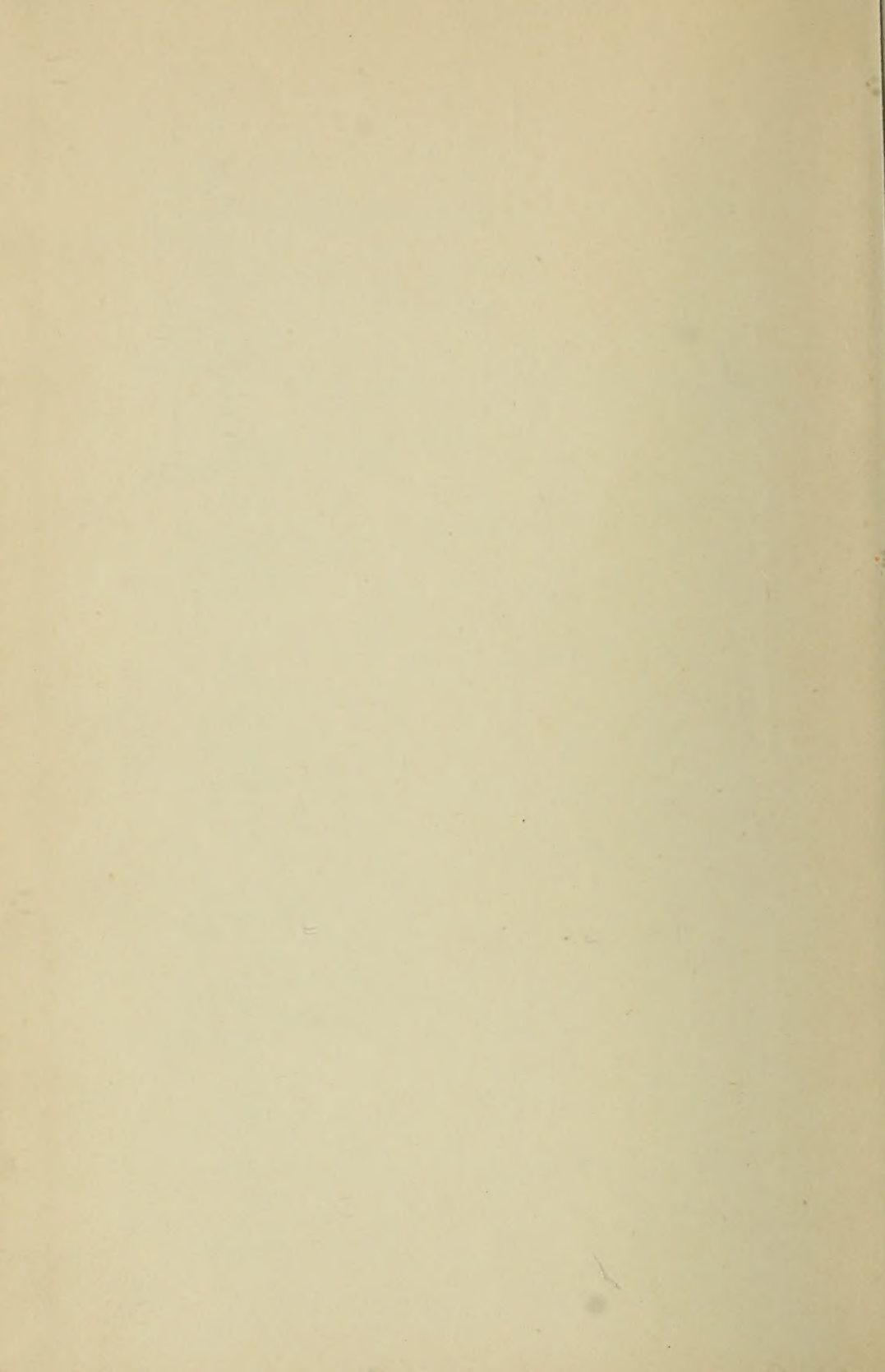
95 St. Joseph St.

James Powell (hero)
UTTEP2V7P

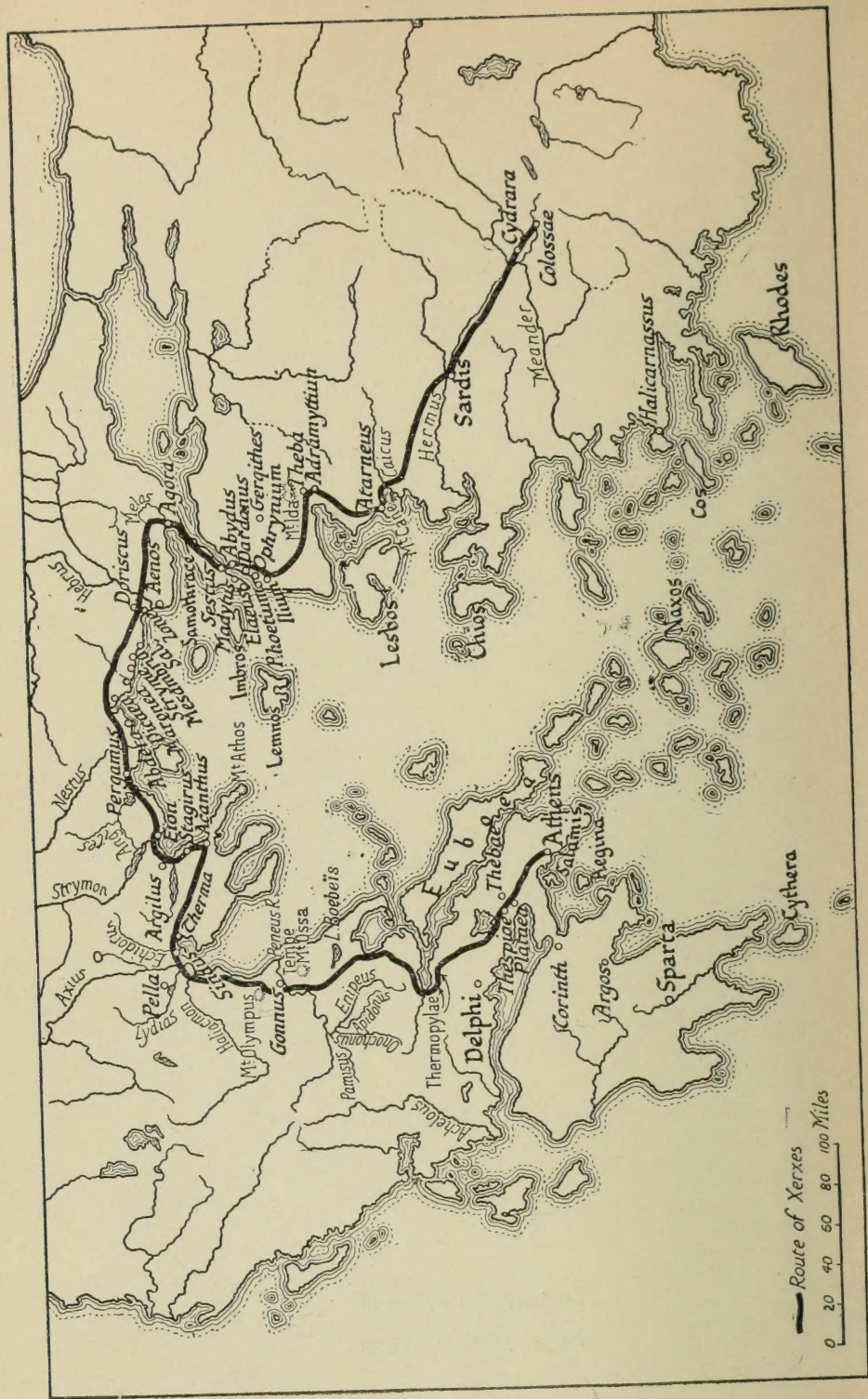
five star

$\overline{\eta}_{\text{pus}} / \overline{A} \text{τρει} \overline{\delta} \eta \nu // \overline{\epsilon} \rho \rho \nu \text{ κρ} \overline{\epsilon} \iota \nu \overline{\omega} \nu \overline{A} \delta \overline{\mu} \overline{\epsilon} \eta \overline{\omega} \nu /$

$$\begin{array}{r} \begin{array}{r} 11 \\ 15 \\ \hline 26 \end{array} \\ \begin{array}{r} 11 \\ 21 \\ \hline 32 \end{array} \\ \begin{array}{r} 11 \\ 22 \\ \hline 33 \end{array} \\ \begin{array}{r} 11 \\ 23 \\ \hline 34 \end{array} \\ \begin{array}{r} 11 \\ 24 \\ \hline 35 \end{array} \\ \begin{array}{r} 11 \\ 25 \\ \hline 36 \end{array} \\ \begin{array}{r} 11 \\ 26 \\ \hline 37 \end{array} \\ \begin{array}{r} 11 \\ 27 \\ \hline 38 \end{array} \\ \begin{array}{r} 11 \\ 28 \\ \hline 39 \end{array} \\ \begin{array}{r} 11 \\ 29 \\ \hline 40 \end{array} \end{array}$$
$$\frac{1}{c}$$



Impression of 1928
First edition, 1922



HERODOTUS

BOOK VII

Partly in the Original and partly in Translation

Edited by

C. E. ROBINSON

& OTHERS

OXFORD

AT THE CLARENDON PRESS

LONDON EDINBURGH GLASGOW COPENHAGEN

NEW YORK TORONTO MELBOURNE CAPETOWN

BOMBAY CALCUTTA MADRAS SHANGHAI

HUMPHREY MILFORD

PREFACE

THIS edition of Herodotus, Book VII is the result of a co-operative effort. It was compiled in the summer term of 1920 by a classical division at Winchester College (Senior Part I A to be precise, in which the average age of the members worked out at exactly sixteen). The preparation of the translated passages and of the notes was divided among some twenty boys ; and the revision and collation of their material was left in the hands of three others, to whose industry and energy special credit is due.

The style of the translation was more or less dictated by the nature of the undertaking. Without some well-known model which all might imitate, there could have been little uniformity. The prose of the Old Testament was chosen, partly because it represents an early development of style in some ways akin to that of Herodotus himself, partly because an oriental flavour is not unsuited to a book which deals largely with the doings and sayings of the Persian King. At the same time we are aware that the biblical style fails to reflect the highly critical, ingenious mind of the Ionian Greek. As a historian Herodotus was infinitely ahead of the authors of Chronicles or the Book of Daniel.

We should not wish to omit grateful mention here of the Oxford scholar who has taken immense pains to atticize the Greek and to correct the many blunders which had crept into our notes.

INTRODUCTION

I. LIFE AND CHARACTER OF HERODOTUS.

THE essential character of History depends, when all is said and done, upon the personality of the historian. For a majestic panorama of imposing figures you may go to Gibbon. If you want a highly coloured picture of eventful times and clever political intrigue, you may find it in Macaulay. If you want brilliant epigram and the cynical narrative of a sordid court life, you may turn to Tacitus. But for sheer entertainment and even, if you will, for insight into the ways and customs of generations past, it would be hard to beat the racy, garrulous, inquisitive traveller of four and a half centuries B.C. In the days of Herodotus the 'historian' was literally the 'inquirer'; for that is what the word itself originally implied. The historian did not then write his books from a comfortable study, or spend his time poring among the documents of a museum library; for documents were scarcely to be had. The world was his document; and he went forth to explore it in a spirit of adventure, pursuing in all sorts of queer corners his indefatigable quest, listening to every gossiping merchant or ship's hand he could meet upon the quays, going the round of the 'show sights' in foreign lands with priests or cicerones, keeping his eyes and his ears wide open, poking his nose into everything and considering nothing to lie outside the scope of his inquiry. Herodotus in his time had visited pretty well all the countries of the world, as the world

was then accounted. He had been in Egypt and in Mesopotamia, in Asia Minor and beyond the Dardanelles ; he had lived in Athens and migrated thence to the shores of Italy ; in short he was a regular 'wandering Jew' of the Aegean and the Levant. And wherever the traveller went, he sucked up information, no matter what it was about. In days when maps were barely beginning to be made, he studied geography in a scientific fashion, tried to understand the why and wherefore of natural conformations, and had his own pet theory about the planning of the world. He was a Natural Historian too, who noted down the habits of the hippopotamus and the method of catching crocodiles on the Nile banks. Every curious detail of personal observation went down in the pages of his note-book. He had stood among the skeletons on a famous battle-field, and to ascertain the thickness of the skulls had poked them with his stick ; and he tells us that. Even when he could not speak from first-hand knowledge, he had generally taken the trouble to procure two or three different versions of a tale and then to give his own verdict on the truth. Nor is he afraid, if necessity arise, of pardonable invention. He puts words and speeches into the mouths of his characters, which often they cannot possibly have used. But there were no newspaper agents or shorthand reporters in those days. He could not have been contradicted ; and besides, Herodotus conceived the business of a historian to be story-telling first and foremost. He planned his chronicle, as a poet plans an epic, with digressions and embellishments to enliven and vary the main theme. His history is in fact a sort of Iliad in prose ; and the theme was a theme worthy of Homer himself. It was the heroic struggle of a few insignificant Greek states against the multitudinous hordes of the great Persian

king—a struggle ending in a triumph more astounding and spectacular than any fiction.

It was not until the echoes of that famous conflict had begun to die away that Herodotus took up his pen. He was born shortly before the year of the Great Invasion—the year of Thermopylae and Salamis—480 B.C. His birthplace was Halicarnassus, which was a mixed Greek state, lying at the south-west extremity of Asia Minor. Artemisia, the queen of the city, had followed with Xerxes in the great expedition, serving as a subject-ally under him, and bringing with her ships which, as Herodotus is proud to note, distinguished themselves not a little on the day of the great defeat. Artemisia's grandson, Lygdamis, continued to rule Halicarnassus in the Persian interest long after the war was at an end. Under his tyranny Herodotus grew to manhood, and when his fellow-citizens combined to throw off at one blow the tyranny of Lygdamis and the hard yoke of Persia, Herodotus joined in the attempt. He was forced to flee the city for his life; but, although the attempt of the conspirators eventually succeeded, the party who rose to power in Halicarnassus were for one reason or another opposed to Herodotus' return; and this time he left his native land for good; and for a while at least he took up his residence at Athens. That city, under the able leadership of the great statesman Pericles, was then at the zenith of her fortunes. Happily for Herodotus, genius was there valued at its intrinsic worth. Pericles and his circle not merely did all they could to encourage native talent and to give opportunities to such men as Pheidias the sculptor and Sophocles the poet, but they also endeavoured to attract to Athens the most brilliant thinkers and writers of countries overseas. So it was that Herodotus found in Athens, as it were, a second home. He benefited by

the brilliant company of wits he found in her. As likely as not, he was engaged by her authorities to furnish information concerning foreign countries he had visited. And, as he compiled his history, his affection and gratitude to her were manifested even to the detriment of truth ; for there appeared in his pages many dubious stories telling much to the credit of Athens, and even more to the discredit of those other Greek states which were now her enemies and rivals. Herodotus' sojourn in Athens was, however, not to last. In 443, some dozen years after his first arrival, a party set out to found a colony or settlement at Thurii in southern Italy. Herodotus accompanied them, and Thurii became henceforth the point from which he started and to which he again returned during his wide and lengthy travels in pursuit of truth.

We have mentioned already the numerous countries which he visited, and we need not enlarge upon the point. That he sailed as a merchant or on any special business is unlikely ; for he does not appear to look at life from a commercial point of view. Probably he paid his way by giving readings or recitations of his now famous history ; and we certainly have some record of his appearing in the rôle of lecturer at the great Olympic Games. The history itself ran on to a considerable length ; but it was not completed when the author died ; for in chapter 213 of this book we find him promising to explain 'later on' the cause of the feud which led to the traitor Ephialtes' death—a promise which, in the history as we have it, has never been fulfilled. We do not know exactly when he died. He must have lived long enough to see the outbreak of war between Sparta and Athens in the year 431 ; for in chapter 233 he mentions the expedition of the Spartan ambassadors to Persia which took place in the following year. On the

other hand he cannot have survived long after this; from what he says about the island of Cythera (in chapter 235) it seems unlikely that he knew of its capture by Nicias which took place in 425. In other words he did not witness even the beginning of the downfall of his beloved Athens; nor in any case did the story of that fall come within the scope of his own work. That task remained for another historian, greater perhaps, but in many ways less original and certainly less attractive, Thucydides.

The general outline of his history it is not here necessary to retail at length. He begins with the rise of Lydia under Croesus. The conquest of Lydia by Cyrus the Persian then leads him on naturally enough to a description of the rise of Persia. The histories of Media and Babylon having been thrown in to round off, as it were, the story of the East, we next learn about the expedition of Cyrus' son Cambyses against Egypt, and incidentally a marvellous mass of detail about Egyptian culture, mummies, pyramids, and what not. Then suddenly the story comes nearer home to Greece: Darius, Cambyses' successor on the Persian throne, marches against Scythia and so first touches European soil. Then follow quickly the revolt against Persia of the town of Miletus, and the sacking of Sardis by the Milesian Greeks and their allies, the Athenians. The fat is now in the fire. Darius vows revenge on Athens; and the story of his expedition which failed at Marathon and his son Xerxes' expedition which came to a still more tragic end at Salamis and Plataea fills the remainder of the books. Gathered up within the compass of the narrative here outlined, is abundant information collected from all manner of sources and in all sorts of ways, partly from hear-say report, partly from previous chroniclers or local lore, partly from written

records such as probably furnished the material for the list of contingents and commanders in Xerxes' motley host (chapters 61 sqq.), or the description of the Delphic oracles quoted in chapter 140 and following. Herodotus was not very particular or cautious in his use of the material. At first sight he appears to show an almost childlike credulity by the inclusion of some impossible or highly improbable tales. He is certainly willing to give even the wildest yarn its chance: 'Any one may believe this who can' is his favourite verdict; and yet, if we read on, we find him stating pretty plainly what was his own belief, and even stopping to point out the weakness of a story which he has none the less been scrupulous to set down exactly as it was told him. The fact is that, like the compilers of the Old Testament narratives, the early chroniclers of Greece were accustomed to gather together various and even conflicting versions of a story, and to put them down side by side without apology. It is enormously to Herodotus' credit that he criticizes and selects as much as he does. He was the true father not merely of history as a chronicle, but of history as a science and an art. Nevertheless he was too much engrossed in the business of spinning a good yarn to miss the opportunities which came his way. He has a passion for noting 'records' or unique occurrences: 'this was the man with the loudest voice in the world' (ch. 117), 'this was the only river which was not drained dry by Xerxes and his host' (ch. 127)—and so forth. Sometimes to suit his fancy he will be deliberately untruthful; in chapter 162 Pericles' famous saying, 'The spring is gone out of the year', is put into Gelo's mouth without a shadow of apology or shame. But these are trifles; far greater than such idiosyncrasies was the generous, broad-minded soul of the man. His breadth of vision is astonishing. Though member

of a race which despised all foreigners as 'barbarians', he can see good points in Persians as well as Greeks, in foes as well as friends. He draws attention to the magnanimity of Xerxes. He allows much of Greek art to have been borrowed from the east. He even suggests that there is much after all to be said for oriental religion. Nothing comes amiss to his all-embracing genius. He revels in every subject and in every detail; and we may almost hear him smacking his lips with delight as he comes across some particularly luscious tit-bit. In his freshness of outlook and his untiring zeal for genuine inquiry he was a true child of that people whose chief business was always to be 'seeing or hearing some new thing'. His mind was tinged through and through with the Athenian philosophy of life. Like Athens' great tragedians, he looked behind the many gods of popular mythology to the idea of a single overshadowing power which dominates the whole universe. Yet he was superstitious too; and, like the poets, he manifests a very strong belief in that mysterious spirit which looks with displeasure on the prosperous and the proud. The whole theme of his great prose epic may be summed up in the proverb, 'Pride goes before a fall.' 'Nemesis,' the wrath of the Almighty against all such as are incautious or presumptuous in the hour of their wealth, was for ever at the back of Herodotus' mind; and, as we read the story of that magnificent and hopeful multitude which set out from Asia into Europe to visit vengeance on the Greeks, of the vain-glorious confidence of their royal master, of his acts of childish petulance or spite performed upon the route, then, in gathering climax, of the first brush of conflict with the indomitable heroes under Leonidas' command, of Xerxes' ill-timed contempt for their resistance, and finally of the awful havoc in the pass giving him

a foretaste, as it were, of still bloodier disaster yet to come—as we read all this, we seem to be reading not a mere record of literal and historic fact, but an inspired and awful drama, in which the springs of human destiny are laid bare to the eye, and the great powers which are the true masters of man's fate are seen to move like watchful and controlling spectres among the pigmy puppets of the historian's stage.

II. EVENTS LEADING TO XERXES' INVASION.

The history of the past is a curious and pitiful record of great empires raised upon seemingly magnificent foundations and then crumbling away like sand; and, though there are good enough reasons for such changes if you know where to look for them, yet nothing appears more capricious than the whirligig of fate. The wide and dreary flats which we now call Mesopotamia, and which until yesterday we considered of but slight importance in the world's affairs, were once the nursery of its earliest civilization and the home of its most powerful and imposing monarchies. Here were planted cities well-nigh half the size of London. Here kings ruled over subjects counted by the million; and here, thousands of years before Britain and Rome were ever thought of, empires had been won and lost which either might have envied. With ASSYRIA, whose strength, maintained for centuries, was broken at length just six hundred years before the birth of Christ, we are not now concerned; nor yet with BABYLON, which for a brief while bid fair to step into her place. Away to the north-east, toward the shores of the Caspian Sea, was growing up a more vigorous rival race. One section of it, the MEDES, had already shown a dangerous inclina-

tion to expand towards the south ; but their sister-tribe, the hardy hill folk of PERSIA, soon took from them the lead. These came of a tougher and more energetic stock than did the Medes. They were brave and accomplished fighters (though they proved no match for the more skilful and athletic Greeks). They possessed a high sense of dignity and decorum ; and, unlike the majority of Eastern tribes, they worshipped a single god. *Ormuzd* was the title which they gave to him ; and they believed him to be the incarnation of the Sun ; but they acknowledged also the existence of a rival spirit of Evil under the name of *Ahriman*. The control of their religious rites was entrusted to a special caste of holy men or *Magi* ; and, as we may learn from Herodotus' own pages, they were much addicted to astrology and believed strongly in the significance of dreams. The Persians, in short, were a most interesting people ; yet, were it not for one circumstance, it is likely enough that we should hear but little of them or of their doings. As it so chanced, however, they threw up, just at the time when Assyria's power was broken, one of those individuals whose strength of character and purpose is apt from time to time to divert the whole destiny of mankind. This individual was CYRUS THE GREAT. The strange story of his childhood and secret upbringing, of the murderous plot which early threatened to cut short his life, and of the fortunate escape which he owed to the motherly instincts of a herdsman's wife, we need not here relate. Cyrus survived, grew to manhood, seized the throne ; and from that hour onward his career was one continuous march of triumph. Babylon fell to him in 538 B. C. ; before his death the realm he ruled extended from the shores of the Aegean to the foot-hills of the Hindu-Kush. All the world that then mattered (with the sole

exception of Egypt) had fallen to his hand ; and amongst other peoples who had felt its might, were those tiny states of Greek nationality which inhabited the western coast of Asia Minor. Here for the first time the destinies of Greece and Persia met.

Cyrus was not the first master whom those cities had experienced. CROESUS, King of LYDIA (of whose fabulous riches Herodotus of course does not omit to tell), had already made the Ionian Greeks his vassals ; but when Croesus' kingdom had been invaded by the Persian, his army defeated, and he himself made prisoner, then Cyrus in his turn became the master of the Asiatic Greeks. They could indeed make little resistance to so powerful a monarch. Along with the many other millions of his subjects, they were set under the control of Cyrus' *satraps* or vice-regal governors, and beneath that yoke they continued, uneasy and resentful, until Cyrus himself was dead and the pre-occupations of another Persian monarch offered them the opportunity of their revenge.

When Cyrus died he was succeeded on the throne of Persia by his son CAMBYSES, according to Herodotus' account a mad and feckless king. Cambyses none the less won the mastery of Egypt, and added that rich province to the already swollen empire of his race. Shortly afterwards a revolt broke out in his capital at *Susa*, and, though turning back in haste to quell it, Cambyses committed suicide upon the journey home. The throne passed after a struggle into the hands of DARIUS, a member of the royal house, but not Cambyses' son. Like his two predecessors, Darius was a man of restless and ambitious character. Not satisfied with the great dominions he inherited from Cyrus and Cambyses, he determined upon pushing his conquests yet farther west. His march, however, was directed not

against the Greeks themselves, but against the less civilized peoples of the north Aegean coast. He crossed the Dardanelles, subdued the Thracian tribesmen as far northward as the Danube, then most imprudently crossed the river by a bridge of boats and began a somewhat purposeless adventure against the wild nomads of the Scythian steppes. This freak went near to costing him his army and his life. For the officers commanding at the bridge were within an ace of betaking themselves home and abandoning the Persian monarch to his fate. He was saved by the fidelity of an Ionian Greek, one *Histiaeus*, of whom we shall hear more anon. At the moment he was rewarded by the gift of an establishment in Thrace, but for one reason or another he was presently recalled, and kept in Susa at Darius' court.

Perhaps Darius already had his suspicions of the loyalty of his Ionian subjects. If so, they were well-founded. The failure of the Scythian expedition and the king's retirement to his distant court at Susa gave the malcontents of the seaboard the opportunity and stimulus they needed. At any rate a plot was hatched to throw off the Persian yoke. In the plot Histiaeus himself was secretly concerned, while his son-in-law, *Aristagoras* of Miletus, played in it a leading and effective part. The plans were carefully laid, and amongst other precautions Aristagoras himself crossed the Aegean, and canvassed the cities of the mother country for their aid in the revolt. Sparta refused to take any part in the adventure, but Athens with characteristic enterprise sent twenty ships. The dispatch of these vessels was, as Herodotus remarks, 'the beginning of trouble between the Persian and the Greek'. Fortified by the arrival of their new Athenian allies, the Ionian rebels marched boldly up into Lydia, seized

Sardis, the old capital of Croesus, now one of the chief centres of Persian influence in the west, and burnt it to the ground (499 B. c.). There the coup ended, and its success was not long-lived. Histiaeus indeed came down to join the rebels, but even the skill with which he played his double part was unavailing, and the little handful of Greek city-states could make no lengthy resistance to the overwhelming resources of Darius. Their cause was further weakened by jealousies and disputes. They made but a poor fight of it, and eventually succumbed at *Ladê* to the Persian fleet. Miletus was taken, its inhabitants butchered or transported, and the other rebel towns in turn reduced. Histiaeus himself was made prisoner and impaled. Meanwhile the part played in the affair by Athens had not been overlooked. Three times a day at dinner one of Darius' slaves was bidden to repeat in his master's ear the words, 'Sire, remember the Athenians.' Darius had not forgotten; and the day of reckoning was not long to be delayed.

The little state which had displayed such impudent audacity in supporting the rebel subjects of the great Persian king, was not at this date the powerful and flourishing community of Herodotus' own time. Athens had not as yet discovered her true self, and throughout the preceding century she had been passing through difficult and dangerous times. There had been civil war between landowners and peasants. Solon, the great lawgiver, had stepped in and healed the quarrel by putting forward a wise and democratic constitution for the state; but no sooner was his work accomplished than it had been utterly undone again by the appearance of an upstart adventurer, *Peisistratus* by name, who made himself master of the city, or, as the Greeks said, 'tyrant'. This man, notwithstanding that he was

several times ejected, contrived by one means or another to regain his hold, and succeeded, with the support of the lower classes, in making things uncomfortable for the rich aristocratic families of the old régime. Taking it as a whole, however, Peisistratus' rule was not without its benefits to Athens. He gave her several fine buildings, encouraged agriculture, and knit up serviceable alliances with neighbouring states. But his sons walked in other paths, and at his death turned to bad uses the power which Peisistratus himself had used so well. Their arrogant behaviour and the unpopularity it caused led first to the assassination of the one *Hipparchus*, and then to the expulsion of *Hippias*, his brother. Driven from Athens, Hippias fled for refuge to the court of the Great King. Having thus rid herself of the 'Tyrants', Athens returned to the constitution previously laid down by Solon on democratic lines, and slowly continued to build up her fortunes on foundations sufficiently solid to survive the shock on the day when the shock should come.

Her rival, the Peloponnesian town of Sparta, had meanwhile been developing in a less exciting fashion; or rather it would be more true to say that she had not been developing at all. Sparta was a stationary factor in Greek politics. Her ruling caste—a mere handful of the true-born Dorian stock—were not in a position to 'progress'. They held the upper hand over a population of serfs or *Helots* enormously more numerous than themselves, and they depended for the continuance of their supremacy entirely upon force. To this end they maintained a constitution of a rigid militarist type. Two kings ruled in conjunction, and commanded the country's forces in the field. A council of elders sat for consultation upon matters of state policy; and for the rest of the citizens life was simply one long drill.

Every Spartan lived in common with certain chosen comrades in a regular military mess ; he was trained himself, and he trained his children after him, to endure all manner of hardships and privations ; and he appeared upon the parade-ground pretty well every morning of his life. The result was that not merely were the citizens soldiers ready to deal, and capable of dealing, with any revolutionary move upon the Helots' part, but also that Sparta possessed a professional standing army which was more than a match for the amateur militia of the neighbouring states. Thanks to this powerful instrument of war, Sparta had succeeded in humbling her most dangerous rival, Argos ; and one by one the other states of the Peloponnese had been drawn into a league of so-called alliance which in truth was little better than subjection to its leading and dominating partner. South of the Isthmus of Corinth therefore Sparta was supreme. Beyond these limits her policy hardly looked at all. Hers were a cautious and a selfish people. They rejected Aristagoras' invitation to assist in the deliverance of Asiatic Greece from Persia ; and, as we shall see, they were not much concerned in resisting the Great King's subsequent invasions, until they were convinced that these entailed a direct and immediate menace to themselves.

It was in 492, two years after the suppression of Miletus and the other rebel cities of Ionia, that Darius launched his first punitive expedition against Greece. *Mardonius*, his son-in-law, was commissioned to sail round by way of the northern Aegean coast, and, while subduing the Thracian and Macedonian tribes *en route*, to effect the main purpose of the expedition by the invasion of Attica itself. Mardonius' fleet did not get far. It was wrecked in a storm off the jutting headland of Mt. Athos, and the survivors turned back shame-

facedly for home. The warning of their fate was not lost upon the future organizers of a similar attempt ; and Xerxes, when it came to be his turn, caused a ship-canal to be dug through the neck of the peninsula which forms the dangerous cape. Meanwhile Darius, nothing daunted, resolved to try again ; and another not less formidable fleet was dispatched in 490 for the west. This was commanded by two generals, *Datis* and *Artaphernes*, and along with them went Hippias, ex-tyrant of the offending town of Athens, intended to act as counsellor and guide upon the voyage, and, when the voyage was over and Athens had been conquered, to resume his interrupted office as vassal of the king. This time the fleet did not sail coastwise by the north, as its unlucky predecessor had done, but struck midway across the Aegean, passing from island to island of the scattered archipelago. It arrived in safety off the Attic coast, and disembarked the Persian forces at the Bay of Marathon, some twenty miles from Athens. The Athenians in great alarm looked round for help, and sent a swift runner, Pheidippides by name, to rouse the Spartans ; then in full force they marched out to meet the invaders of their soil. They were too weak in numbers, not more, perhaps, than a tenth of the whole Persian host, to offer battle as things stood. So for several days the two armies sat watching, the Athenians on the hill-side, the Persians by the shore. Then the Persians made a move. Part of their force they re-embarked upon the ships, and the other part they sent forward along the Athens road. As the latter marched, they exposed their flank most dangerously to the army on the hill, and without more ado the Athenian hoplites charged. They rolled up the Persian flanks, and then drove the whole mass backwards into the waters of the sea. It was a decisive victory ; but the peril was not

over. Already the Persian force on board the ships was well on its way round Cape Sunium towards Athens town; and, unless the victors of Marathon returned with all speed to mount guard on their defenceless walls, the Persian strategy might yet succeed. Despite the fatigue of the day's heavy fighting, the Athenian army hurried back over those twenty miles and covered the distance in time, but only just in time, to forestall the enemy's arrival off the shore. Datis and Artaphernes were compelled to draw off without striking a further blow, and went home to report their failure to their royal master. When all was over, a contingent arrived from Sparta, only to find that the Athenians had achieved victory without them. Unfriendly critics had their own views about the cause of the delay.

Darius was more furious than ever on receipt of the bad news; and resolved upon a third and more determined effort to wipe out the growing score against the indomitable little state. A revolt in Egypt, however, delayed the undertaking of any further enterprise, and in 485 Darius himself died, bequeathing to his son XERXES the task of vengeance upon which his heart had so long and so ineffectually been set. Before Xerxes was ready to carry out his dead father's wishes another five years elapsed; and in the decade which intervened between the victory of Marathon and the final menace of 480 things happened at Athens which luckily rendered her more capable of meeting that menace when it came. In the first place there rose into prominence a man who, if any one may alone be given the credit, may be said to have preserved her, *Themistocles*. How much Themistocles really foresaw is difficult to tell; but at least he realized that his country's future lay upon the seas. Fate played into

his hands. War broke out between Athens and the neighbouring island of *Aegina*. Ships were needed for the war ; and at that very moment a rich vein of silver ore was discovered in the neighbourhood of Cape Sunium. Themistocles persuaded the citizens to devote the proceeds to the reinforcement of their navy and the fortification of their naval base. It was the ships so built that eventually turned the scales against the Persian, and at Salamis won the overwhelming victory which sent Xerxes broken home. Apart from this wise stroke of naval policy devised by the Athenian statesman, the Greeks took no steps to prepare to meet the coming storm. On the contrary, their lack of foresight was deplorable. On the eve of the Persian King's arrival the Spartans indeed sent a force up into Thessaly to hold the passes, only to find when they arrived that the passes were untenable. The dispatch of Leonidas to Thermopylae was belated and inadequate. So far as Sparta had a policy at all it was to fortify the Isthmus of Corinth and leave Athens to shift for herself as best she could. But the story may be left for Herodotus to tell, as he tells it in the following chapters of his Seventh Book.

HERODOTUS

HISTORY, BOOK VII

Ἐπεὶ δὲ ἡ ἀγγελία ἀφίκετο περὶ τῆς μάχης τῆς ἐν Ἰ
Μαραθῶνι γενομένης παρὰ βασιλέα Δαρεῖον τὸν
Ὑστάσπου καὶ πρὶν μεγάλως κεχαραγμένον τοῖς Ἀθη-
ναίοις διὰ τὴν ἐς Σάρδεις ἐσβολήν, καὶ δὴ καὶ τότε
πολλῷ τε δεινότερα ἐποίει καὶ μᾶλλον ὥρμητο στρα-
τεύεσθαι ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα. καὶ αὐτίκα μὲν ἐπηγγέλ- 2
λετο πέμπων ἀγγέλους κατὰ πόλεις ἐτοιμάζειν στρατιάν,
πολλῷ πλέω ἐπιτάσσω ἐκάστοις ἢ πρότερον παρεῖχον,
καὶ ναῦς τε καὶ ἵππους καὶ σῖτον καὶ πλοῖα. τούτων δὲ
περιαγγελλομένων ἡ Ἀσία ἐδονεῖτο ἐπὶ τρία ἔτη, κατα-
λεγόμενων τε τῶν ἀρίστων, ὥς ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα στρα-
τευσομένων, καὶ παρασκευαζομένων. τετάρτῳ δὲ ἔτει 3
Αἰγύπτιοι οἱ ὑπὸ Καμβύσου δουλωθέντες ἀπέστησαν
ἀπὸ Περσῶν. ἐνταῦθα δὴ καὶ μᾶλλον ὥρμητο καὶ ἐπ’
ἀμφοτέρους στρατεύεσθαι.

Now while Darius was thus occupied against the 2
Egyptians and Athenians, there arose no small dissension
among his children, for they were not able to agree who
should be king in his stead. For Darius had three children
born to him before he was yet king by his first wife, who was
the daughter of Gobryas. But after he had been chosen
to be ruler of Persia, he begat four more children, and
they were born to him by Atossa, Cyrus’ daughter. Of
the former issue the eldest was Artabarzanes, and of the
latter, Xerxes. And there was sore strife between them,
because they were not of the same mother. For Artab-

barzanes said that he was the eldest of all the children of Darius, and all men believed that the eldest son should be king. But Xerxes said that he was the son of Atossa, who was the daughter of Cyrus who made the Persians free men.

3 Yet did Darius withhold his opinion. But it came to pass that Demaratus the son of Ariston came to Susa, for the men of Sparta had wrested his kingdom from him, so that he was constrained to flee out of the land. Now when this man was told of the strife between Darius' children, then straightway he went to Xerxes, and bade him say both the things which he had said before, and likewise that he was born to Darius while he ruled, but that Artabazanes was born when Darius was still a subject, and neither was it just nor seemly that another than he should take the throne. Then did Demaratus with subtil words tell Xerxes that in Sparta, if there were sons born before their father was king, and one also was born whilst his father was king, this man should rule the Spartans. And Xerxes spake to Darius after the counsel of Demaratus. And the king, seeing that he spake justly, made Xerxes his heir. Nevertheless, methinketh, even without these words he would have become king, for the power of Atossa was very great.

4 Now when Darius had made it known to all the Persians that Xerxes was to be their king, he made ready to bring his array into Greece. But it came to pass in the year following these things, even the year following the insurrection of Egypt, that king Darius died, before ever he had made ready his armament, neither did he avenge himself on the Egyptians nor yet on the Athenians. And all the time that Darius reigned was thirty and six years. And Xerxes his son reigned in his stead.

5 Ὁ τοίνυν Ξέρξης ἐπὶ μὲν τὴν Ἑλλάδα οὐδαμῶς πρόθυμος ἦν κατ' ἀρχὰς στρατεύεσθαι, ἐπὶ δὲ Αἴγυπτον ἐποιεῖτο στρατιᾶς ἄγεσιν. παρὼν δὲ καὶ δυνάμενος παρ' αὐτῷ μέγιστον Περσῶν Μαρδόνιος ὁ Γωβρύου, ὃς ἦν Ξέρξῃ μὲν ἀνεψιός, Δαρείου δὲ ἀδελφῆς παῖς,

τοιούτου λόγου εἶχετο, λέγων· “Δέσποτα, οὐκ εἰκός ἐστιν ἂ
 Ἀθηναίους ἐργασαμένους πολλὰ δὴ κακὰ Πέρσας μὴ
 οὐ δοῦναι δίκας ὧν ἐποίησαν. ἀλλὰ τὸ μὲν νῦν ταῦτα
 πράσσοις ἅπερ ἐν χερσὶν ἔχεις· ἡμερώσας δὲ Αἴγυπτον
 τὴν ἐξυβρίσασαν στρατηλάτει ἐπὶ τὰς Ἀθήνας, ἵνα
 λόγος τέ σε ἔξη πρὸς ἀνθρώπων ἀγαθὸς καὶ τις ὕστερον
 φυλάσσηται ἐπὶ γῆν τὴν σὴν στρατεύεσθαι.” οὗτος μὲν 3
 αὐτῷ ὁ λόγος ἦν τιμωρός, τούτου δὲ τοῦ λόγου παρεν-
 θήκην ἐποιεῖτο τήνδε, ὡς ἡ Εὐρώπη περικαλλὴς εἶη
 χώρα καὶ δένδρα παντοῖα φέρει τὰ ἡμερα ἀρετὴν τε
 ἄκρα, βασιλεῖ τε μόνῳ θνητῶν ἀξία κεκτηῖσθαι. ταῦτα 6
 δὲ ἔλεγεν οἷα νεωτέρων ἔργων ἐπιθυμητῆς ὧν καὶ θέλων
 αὐτὸς τῆς Ἑλλάδος ὑπαρχος εἶναι. χρόνῳ δὲ κατειρ-
 γάσατό τε καὶ ἀνέπεισε Ξέρξην ὥστε ποιεῖν ταῦτα·
 συνέλαβε γὰρ καὶ ἄλλα αὐτῷ σύμμαχα γενόμενα ἐς τὸ
 πείθεσθαι Ξέρξην. τοῦτο μὲν ἀπὸ τῆς Θεσσαλίας παρὰ 2
 τῶν Ἀλευαδῶν ἀφιγμένοι ἄγγελοι ἐπεκαλοῦντο βασιλέα
 πᾶσαν προθυμίαν παρεχόμενοι ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα (οἱ δὲ
 Ἀλευάδαι οὗτοι ἦσαν Θεσσαλίας βασιλῆς), τοῦτο δὲ
 Πεισιστρατιδῶν οἱ ἀναβεβηκότες ἐς Σοῦσα, τῶν τε
 αὐτῶν λόγων ἐχόμενοι ὧν καὶ οἱ Ἀλευάδαι, καὶ δὴ τι
 πρὸς τούτοις ἔτι πλέον προσωρέγοντο αὐτῷ. ἔχοντες 3
 δ' Ὀνομάκριτον, ἄνδρα Ἀθηναῖον χρησμολόγον τε
 καὶ διαθέτην χρησμῶν τῶν Μουσαίου, ἀνεβεβήκεσαν,
 τὴν ἔχθραν προκαταλυσάμενοι· ἐξηλάθη γὰρ ὑπὸ Ἰπ-
 πάρχου τοῦ Πεισιστράτου ὁ Ὀνομάκριτος ἐξ Ἀθηνῶν,
 ἐπ' αὐτοφώρῳ ἀλοὺς ὑπὸ Λάσου τοῦ Ἑρμιονοῦς ἐμποιῶν
 ἐς τὰ Μουσαίου χρησμὸν ὡς αἱ ἐπὶ Λήμνῳ ἐπικείμεναι
 νῆσοι ἀφανίζονται κατὰ τῆς θαλάσσης. διὸ ἐξήλασεν 4
 αὐτὸν ὁ Ἰππάρχος, πρότερον χρώμενος τὰ μάλιστα.

τότε δὲ συναναβὰς ὅπως ἀφίκοιτο ἐς ὄψιν τὴν βασιλέως, λεγόντων τῶν Πεισιστρατιδῶν περὶ αὐτοῦ σεμνοὺς λόγους κατέλεγε τῶν χρησμῶν· εἰ μὲν τι ἔνιοι σφάλμα ἔφερον τῷ βαρβάρῳ, τούτων μὲν ἔλεγεν οὐδέν, ὁ δὲ τὰ εὐτυχέστατα ἐκλεγόμενος ἔλεγεν τόν τε Ἑλλήσποντον ὡς ζευχθῆναι χρεῶν εἴη ὑπ' ἀνδρὸς Πέρσου, τὴν τε ἔλασιν
 5 ἐξηγούμενος. οὗτός τε δὴ χρησμοδῶν προσεφέρετο, καὶ οἱ τε Πεισιστρατίδαι καὶ οἱ Ἀλευάδαι γνώμας ἀποδει-
 7 κνύμενοι. ὡς δὲ ἀνεγνώσθη Ξέρξης στρατεύεσθαι ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα, ἐνταῦθα δευτέρῳ μὲν ἔτει μετὰ τὸν θάνατον τὸν Δαρείου πρῶτα στρατιὰν ποιεῖται ἐπὶ τοὺς ἀφεστῶτας. τούτους μὲν νυν καταστρεψάμενος καὶ Αἴγυπτον πᾶσαν πολὺ δουλοτέραν ποιήσας ἢ ἐπὶ Δαρείου ἦν, ἐπιτρέπει Ἀχαιμένει, ἀδελφῷ μὲν ἑαυτοῦ, Δαρείου δὲ παιδί. Ἀχαιμένη μὲν νυν ἐπιτροπεύοντα Αἰγύπτου χρόνῳ μετέπειτα ἐφόνευσεν Ἰνάρως ὁ Ψαμμητίχου ἀνὴρ Λίβυς.

- 8 Now when Egypt had been subdued, and when Xerxes purposed to make all things ready for the army which he had prepared against Athens, he summoned the princes of Persia to come before him, for he was minded to know all their counsels, and likewise to tell them all the things which he had in his heart. And when they were all assembled Xerxes spake to them, saying: 'Ye men of Persia, I intend not to lay down a new law before you, but rather to follow one which is old. For, as our fathers have told us, we have never sat still, no, not since Cyrus overcame Astyages, when we wrested their power from the Medes. But I say unto you that God hath done this for us, and He will prosper us alway if we follow His guidance. And even so did Cyrus and Cambyses and Darius, my father, for they conquered many nations, as ye know well. And when I became king over you, I considered how I might be esteemed no less than any of those who are held in honour from

ancient time, nor make of less account the might of the Persians. And as I considered, I found a way whereby we may gain no small reward, and possess a country by no means smaller or of less worth than our own ; and also we may be avenged on all such as defy our majesty. Wherefore I summoned you here that I might make known to you the things which I have in my heart to do. It is my purpose to make a bridge over the Hellespont, and thus bring my host through Europe to Greece, for it is my will to chastise the Athenians for all the things which they have done to me and to my father. For ye saw Darius preparing to march against them ; yet he died and God did not allow him to punish them. But for his sake, and for the sake of all the other Persians, I shall not stay till I have taken Athens, yea, and burned it also. For these men have done much evil to me and to my father. For they first came to Sardis, with Aristagoras of Miletus who was my slave, and having come thither did burn all the shrines and all the groves withal ; moreover ye have all heard what things they did to us when we came against their land, having Datis and Artaphernes for our generals. Therefore I am determined to march against them, and I have made diligent inquiry, and find that many things are favourable to us. If we smite them and their neighbours also, who dwell in the land of Pelops the Phrygian, we shall make it known to all men that the Persian power hath no bounds save the sky only. For I say unto you that the sun shall never set on any land except it be Persian ; and with your aid I shall make all these lands into one, passing through the whole length and breadth of Europe. For I have learned that such is our strength that no city or tribe of men is left to fight against us save only these of whom I now make mention. Thus must we subdue under us the innocent and the guilty alike. But I do most earnestly beseech you to forward this purpose with a good heart. When therefore I announce to you the time when I would ye should come, each man of you must appear with all zeal. And whosoever cometh with the army that is the best ordered, to him will I give the noblest gifts in the whole land of Persia. So therefore must you act ; and lest any man think that I consult you

not at all, I lay the whole of the business before you, and I command each man who wishes to declare what he thinketh wisest to do.'

- 9 Ταῦτα εἰπὼν ἐπαύετο. μετ' αὐτὸν δὲ Μαρδόνιος ἔλεγεν· “ὦ δέσποτα, οὐ μόνον εἰ τῶν γενομένων Περσῶν ἄριστος, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν ἐσομένων, ὃς τά τε ἄλλα λέγων ἐφίκου ἄριστα καὶ ἀληθέστατα καὶ Ἰωνας τοὺς ἐν τῇ Εὐρώπῃ κατῳκημένους οὐκ ἑάσεις καταγελάσαι ἡμῖν
 2 ὄντας ἀναξίους, καὶ γὰρ δεινὸν ἂν εἴη πρῶγμα, εἰ Σάκας μὲν καὶ Ἰνδοὺς καὶ Αἰθίοπας τε καὶ Ἀσσυρίους ἄλλα τε ἔθνη πολλὰ καὶ μεγάλα ἀδικήσαντα Πέρσας οὐδέν, ἀλλὰ δύναμιν προσκτᾶσθαι βουλόμενοι, καταστρεψάμενοι δούλους ἔχομεν, Ἕλληνας δὲ ὑπάρξαντας
 α ἀδικίας οὐ τιμωρησόμεθα. τί δείσαντες; ποίαν πλήθους συστροφὴν; ποίαν δὲ χρημάτων δύναμιν; ὧν ἐπιστάμεθα μὲν τὴν μάχην, ἐπιστάμεθα δὲ τὴν δύναμιν οὐσαν ἄσθενῇ· ἔχομεν δὲ αὐτῶν παῖδας καταστρεψάμενοι, τούτους οἱ ἐν τῇ ἡμετέρᾳ κατῳκημένοι Ἰωνές τε καὶ
 2 Αἰολεῖς καὶ Δωριεῖς καλοῦνται. ἐπειράθην δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς ἤδη ἐπελαύνων ἐπὶ τοὺς ἄνδρας τούτους ὑπὸ πατρὸς τοῦ σοῦ κελευσθεῖς, καί μοι μέχρι Μακεδονίας ἐλάσαντι καὶ ὀλίγον ἀπολιπόντι ἐς αὐτὰς Ἀθήνας ἀφιβέσθαι οὐδεὶς ἠντιώθη ἐς μάχην. καίτοι γε εἴωθασιν Ἕλληνες, ὥς πυνθάνομαι, ἀβουλότατα πολέμους ἵστασθαι ὑπὸ τε ἀγνωμοσύνης καὶ σκαιότητος. ἐπ' ἂν γὰρ ἀλλήλοις πόλεμον προείπωσιν, ἐξευρόντες τὸ κάλλιστον χωρίον καὶ λειότατον, ἐς τοῦτο κατιόντες μάχονται, ὥστε σὺν κακῷ μεγάλῳ οἱ νικῶντες ἀπαλλάσσονται· περὶ δὲ τῶν ἡσσωμένων οὐδὲ λέγω ἀρχήν, ἐξώλεις γὰρ
 2 δὴ γίνονται. οὓς χρῆν, ὄντας ὁμογλώσσους, κήρυξί τε διαχρωμένους καὶ ἀγγέλοις καταλαμβάνειν τὰς διαφορὰς

καὶ παντὶ μᾶλλον ἢ μάχαις· εἰ δὲ πάντως ἔδει πολεμεῖν
 πρὸς ἀλλήλους, ἐξευρίσκειν χρῆν ἢ ἑκάτεροί εἰσι δυσ-
 χειρωτότατοι καὶ ταύτῃ πειρᾶν. τρόπῳ τοίνυν οὐ
 χρηστῷ Ἕλληνες διαχρώμενοι ἐμοῦ ἐλάσαντος μέχρι
 Μακεδονίας γῆς οὐκ ἦλθον ἐς τοῦτου λόγον ὥστε
 μάχεσθαι. σοὶ δὲ δὴ μέλλει τίς, ὦ βασιλεῦ, ἀντιώσε-γ
 σθαι πόλεμον προφέρων, ἄγοντι καὶ πλῆθος τὸ ἐκ τῆς
 Ἀσίας καὶ ναῦς τὰς ἀπάσας; ὥς μὲν ἐγὼ δοκῶ, οὐκ
 ἐς τοῦτο θάρσους ἀνήκει τὰ Ἑλλήνων πράγματα· εἰ δὲ
 ἄρα ἔγωγε ψευσθείην γνώμη καὶ ἐκεῖνοι ἐπαρθέντες
 ἀβουλίᾳ ἔλθοιεν ἡμῖν ἐς μάχην, μάθοιεν ἂν ὥς ἐσμεν
 ἀνθρώπων ἄριστοι τὰ πολέμια. ἔστω δ' οὖν μηδὲν
 ἀπείρατον· αὐτόματον γὰρ οὐδέν, ἀλλ' ἀπὸ πείρας
 πάντα ἀνθρώποις φιλεῖ γίγνεσθαι."

And when Mardonius had thus softened the harsh ¹⁰
 words of Xerxes he held his peace. And all the
 Persians were silent, nor did any dare to question what
 he had said. Then stood forth Artabanus the son of
 Hystaspes, who was also the uncle of Xerxes, and having
 confidence by reason of this, he spake, saying, 'O King,
 be it known unto thee that it is in no wise possible for a
 man to judge of a matter unless he hath first heard all
 that is to be said upon both sides. For if he heareth
 one counsel only he must needs follow it. No man can
 tell true gold except he first test it against other gold;
 nor can we tell the better counsel unless we first test it
 against the worse. Now in time past I warned thy
 father, Darius, not to go up against the Scythians to do
 battle, for I knew that they were a wandering people
 that had no fixed habitation. But he would not hearken
 unto my counsel, and went up against them. Therefore
 came he back in sorrow and in heaviness, having lost
 many mighty men of his host. And thou, O King, art
 going against a people who are mighty both on land and
 on sea. And it is but right that I should advise thee of
 the danger thou bringest upon thee. Thou sayest,
 O King, that thou wilt span the waters of the Hellespont,

and lead thy host through Europe into Greece. But it may be that some disaster come upon thee, either by land, or by sea, or by both. For they are a mighty nation, of whom the Athenians alone destroyed the whole host of Datis and Artaphernes when they went up into the land of Attica. Grant therefore that they be victorious both by land and by sea. Then, should they put men upon their ships and conquer thee in battle, they would break the bridge of the Hellespont, and it would go hardly with thee, O King. I do not say these words unto thee out of my own judgement, but because I remember how near we came to destruction in that day when thy father, Darius, spanned the Hellespont and bridged the waters of the Ister. For in that day came the Scythians who besought the men of Ionia to break the bridge, for the Ionians had charge over that work. And had not Histiaeus, the tyrant of Miletus, disagreed with the counsel of his fellows, it would have gone hardly with the Persians in that day. Verily it is a fearful thing that the destiny of our empire should so have rested on the action of one man.

- δ “ Σὺ οὖν μὴ βούλου ἐς κίνδυνον μηδένα τοιοῦτον ἀφικέσθαι μηδεμιᾶς ἀνάγκης οὔσης, ἀλλὰ ἐμοὶ πείθου· νῦν μὲν τὸν σύλλογον τόνδε διάλυσον· αὐτίς δέ, ὅταν σοι δοκῇ, προσκεψάμενος ἐπὶ σεαυτοῦ προαγόρευε ἃ σοι δοκεῖ εἶναι ἄριστα. τὸ γὰρ εἶ βουλευέσθαι κέρδος μέγιστον εὐρίσκω ὄν· εἰ γὰρ καὶ ἐναντιωθῆναί τι θέλει, βεβούλευται μὲν οὐδὲν ἦσσον εἶ, ἦσσηται δὲ ὑπὸ τῆς τύχης τὸ βούλευμα· ὁ δὲ βουλευσάμενος αἰσχροῶς, εἰ αὐτῷ ἡ τύχη ἐπίσποιτο, εὖρημα εὖρηκεν, ἦσσον δὲ οὐδὲν αὐτῷ κακῶς εἰ βεβούλευται. ὁρᾷς τὰ ὑπερέχοντα ζῶα ὡς κεραυνοὶ ὁ θεὸς οὐδὲ ἑᾷ φαντάζεσθαι, τὰ δὲ σμικρὰ οὐδὲν αὐτὸν κνίξει· ὁρᾷς δὲ ὡς ἐς οἰκήματα τὰ μέγιστα αἰεὶ καὶ δένδρα τὰ τοιαῦτα ἀποσκήπτει τὰ βέλη. φιλεῖ γὰρ ὁ θεὸς τὰ ὑπερέχοντα πάντα κολοῦειν. οὕτω δὲ καὶ στρατὸς πολὺς ὑπὸ ὀλίγου διαφθείρεται κατὰ τοιόνδε·

ἐπὰν αὐτοῖς ὁ θεὸς φθονήσας φόβον ἐμβάλη ἢ βροντήν,
δι' οὖν ἐφθάρησαν ἀναξίως ἑαυτῶν. οὐ γὰρ ἔα φρονεῖν
μέγα ὁ θεὸς ἄλλον ἢ ἑαυτόν.

'Haste ever leadeth to disaster, from which great sufferings arise. But in restraint there is much good, and though it be not at first apparent, in the end it will become manifest. Thus, then, do I counsel thee, O King. And thou, O Mardonius, son of Gobryas, speak no more foolishness about the Greeks. For they are not a people to be lightly accounted of. And only by slandering them canst thou prevail upon the king to go up against them, and on this, as it seemeth, thy heart is fixed. God send thou prosper not in this ; for slander is the most hurtful of all sins. In it two men do injury, and one is injured. For he that slandereth his fellow in his absence wrongeth him, and he that hearkeneth, but followeth not his own judgements, wrongeth him also. But he that in his absence is slandered is wronged by both of them, for the one saith falsely that he is evil and the other thinketh it in his heart. But if thou art determined to go up against these men, at least, I pray thee, let the king remain at home among the Persians, and do thou take what men thou wilt and go up against them thyself. And we two will stake our children on the issue. Then if things are as thou sayest, and it prospers with thee, take thou my children and slay them, and me with them. But if things are as I say, then will I take thy children and slay them, and I will slay thee also, if thou shouldest return. But if thou art not willing to accept this wager, but dost nevertheless wish to go up against these men, go. But I say unto thee that the day will come in the which the men at home will learn that Mardonius has done Persia a grievous hurt. And in that day shall the dogs and vultures pick thy bones in the land of the Athenians or in the land of the Spartans, unless thou hast fallen first by the roadside. And then wilt thou surely know the courage of these men against whom thou wouldest have the king make war.'

Thus, then, spake Artabanus; but Xerxes was angered II
and answered him roughly, saying, 'Artabanus, thou

art my father's brother, and this shall save thee from paying the full penalty of thy rash words. But this one shame will I lay upon thee. Forasmuch as thou art a coward and faint of heart, thou shalt not march with me against these men, but shalt stay at home with the women. And I will accomplish without thee all that I have said. May I not be the son of Darius, the son of Hystaspes, the son of Arsames, the son of Ariaramnes, the son of Teispes, the son of Cyrus, the son of Cambyses, the son of Teispes, the son of Achaemenes, if I be not avenged upon these Athenians! For I know well that if I kept the peace, yet would they not, but would come up against my land to make war upon it. Are not these they that invaded Asia and gave the city of Sardis to the flames? Therefore neither we nor they can now draw back; but we must either do or suffer grievous hurt, for either their land must become our land, or our land their land; and between these two there is no middle course. Let us therefore, who have suffered evil at their hands in the past, now take vengeance therefor, that we may learn what are these dangers that Artabanus prophesies. For this terrible people was subdued by one who was a subject of my forefathers, even Pelops the Phrygian. And to this day the land is called after his name.'

- 12 Ταῦτα μὲν ἐπὶ τοσοῦτο ἐλέγετο, μετὰ δὲ εὐφρόνη τε ἐγίγνετο καὶ Ξέρξην ἔκνιζεν ἡ Ἀρταβάνου γνώμη· νυκτὶ δὲ βουλήν διδοὺς πάγχυ εὕρισκεν αὐτῷ οὐ πρᾶγμα εἶναι στρατεύεσθαι ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα. δεδογμένων δὲ αὐθις τούτων καθύπνωσε, καὶ δὴ πού ἐν τῇ νυκτὶ εἶδεν ὄψιν τοιάνδε, ὡς λέγεται ὑπὸ Περσῶν· ἐδόκει ὁ Ξέρξης 2 ἄνδρα αὐτῷ ἐπιστάντα μέγαν τε καὶ εὐειδῆ εἰπεῖν· “Μετὰ δὴ βουλευεῖ, ὦ Πέρσα, στρατεύμα μὴ ἄγειν ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα, προειπὼν ἀλίσζειν Πέρσαις στρατόν; οὔτε οὖν μεταβουλευόμενος ποιεῖς εὔ, οὔτε ὁ συγγνωστόμός σοι πάρα· ἀλλ’ ὥσπερ τῆς ἡμέρας ἐβουλευέσω ποιεῖν, ταύτην ἴθι τῶν ὁδῶν.” / τὸν μὲν ταῦτα εἰπόντα ἐδόκει ὁ

Ξέρξης ἀποπτάσθαι, ἡμέρας δὲ ἐπιλαμψάσης ὀνείρου 13
 μὲν τούτου λόγον οὐδένα ἐποιεῖτο, ὁ δὲ Περσῶν συνα-
 λίσας οὓς καὶ πρότερον συνέλεξεν, ἔλεγεν αὐτοῖς τάδε·
 “Ἄνδρες Πέρσαι, συγγνώμην μοι ἔχετε ὅτι ἀγχίστροφα 2
 βουλεύομαι· φρενῶν τε γὰρ ἐς τὰ ἔμαντοῦ πρῶτα οὐπω
 ἀνήκω, καὶ οἱ παρηγορούμενοι ἐκεῖνα ποιεῖν οὐδένα
 χρόνον μου ἀπέχονται. ἀκούσαντι μέντοι μοι τῆς
 Ἀρταβάνου γνώμης παραντίκα μὲν ἡ νεότης ἐπέξενεν,
 ὥστε ἀεικέστερα ἀπορρῖψαι ἔπη ἐς ἄνδρα πρεσβύτερον
 ἢ χρεῶν· νῦν μέντοι συγγνοὺς χρήσομαι τῇ ἐκείνου
 γνώμῃ. ὥς οὖν μεταδεδογμένον μοι μὴ στρατεύεσθαι 3
 ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα, ἥσυχοι ἔστε.” Πέρσαι μὲν ὥς ἤκουσαν
 ταῦτα, κεχαρηκότες προσεκύνουν· νυκτὸς δὲ γενομένης 14
 αὐθις ταῦτ’ ὄνειρον τῷ Ξέρξῃ καθυπνωμένῳ ἔλεγεν
 ἐπιστάν· “ὦ παῖ Δαρείου, καὶ δὴ φαίνει ἐν Πέρσαις
 τε ἀπειπὼν τὴν στρατηλασίαν καὶ τὰ ἐμὰ ἔπη ἐν οὐδενὶ
 ποιούμενος λόγῳ ὥς παρ’ οὐδενὸς ἀκούσας; εὖ νυν τόδ’
 ἴσθι, ἣν περ μὴ αὐτίκα στρατηλατῆς, τάδε σοι ἐξ αὐτῶν
 ἀνασχήσει· ὥς καὶ μέγας καὶ πολὺς ἐγένου ἐν ὀλίγῳ
 χρόνῳ, οὕτω καὶ ταπεινὸς ὀπίσω κατὰ τάχος ἔσει.”
 Ξέρξης μὲν περιδεὴς γενόμενος τῇ ὄψει ἀνά τε ἔδραμεν 15
 ἐκ τῆς κοίτης καὶ πέμπει ἄγγελον ἐπὶ Ἀρτάβανον
 καλοῦντα. ἀφικομένῳ δὲ αὐτῷ ἔλεγε Ξέρξης τάδε·
 “Ἀρτάβανε, ἐγὼ τὸ παραντίκα μὲν οὐκ ἐσωφρόνουν εἰπὼν
 ἐς σὲ μάταια ἔπη χρηστῆς ἔνεκα συμβουλῆς· μετὰ 2
 μέντοι οὐ πολὺν χρόνον μετέγνων, ἔγνων δὲ ταῦτά μοι
 ποιητέα ὄντα ἃ σὺ ὑπέθου. οὐκ οὖν δυνατός τοί εἰμι
 ταῦτα βουλόμενος ποιεῖν· τετραμμένῳ γὰρ δὴ καὶ μετε-
 γνωκότι ἐπιφοιτῶν ὄνειρον φαντάζεται μοι, οὐδαμῶς
 συνέπαινον ὃν ποιεῖν με ταῦτα· νῦν δὲ καὶ διαπειλῆσαν

3 οἴχεται. εἰ οὖν θεός ἐστιν ὁ ἐπιπέμπων καὶ αὐτῷ πάν-
 τως ἐν ἡδονῇ ἐστι γενέσθαι στρατηλασίαν ἐπὶ τὴν
 Ἑλλάδα, ἐπιπτήσεται καὶ σοὶ ταὐτὸ τοῦτο ὄνειρον, ὁμοίως
 καὶ ἐμοὶ ἐντελλόμενον. εὕρισκω δὲ ᾧδε ἂν γιγνόμενα
 ταῦτα, εἰ λάβοις τὴν ἐμὴν σκευὴν πᾶσαν καὶ ἐνδὺς
 μετὰ τοῦτο ἴζοιο ἐς τὸν ἐμὸν θρόνον καὶ ἔπειτα ἐν κοίτῃ
 τῇ ἐμῇ καθυπνώσεις.”

- 16 Thus, then, spake Xerxes. But Artabanus did not at first obey his command, nor did he think himself worthy to sit upon the king's throne. But when he was compelled, at last he consented, saying to the king: ‘O King, it seems to me that whether a man be himself wise, or whether he follow wise counsel, it is all one. And though thou hast both these virtues, yet art thou led astray by company of evil counsellors; for these are like to the winds that vex the sea, which is of all things the most profitable to man, but which they suffer not to follow its natural course. When I was rebuked of thee my heart was grieved, not so much for myself, but because I knew that thou hadst chosen for the Persians and for thyself the more perilous of two courses. For two paths lay open to the Persians: the one, to increase their pride, the other to curb it. But now that thou hast chosen the better path, and hast decided not to go up against the Greeks, behold, thou sayest that a vision from God hath come to thee, which will not suffer thee to turn aside from this war. But I say unto thee, my son, that this vision cometh not from God. For the dreams which wander to and fro upon the earth are such as I will tell thee; for I am an old man, and have seen more years than thou. On whatsoever a man thinks during the day, this is wont to come to him at night. Now, during these past days, we have thought much upon this enterprise: therefore art thou troubled by these dreams. And if it be not as I say, but this dream be truly sent from God, then thou hast spoken the whole truth, and the vision will appear unto me, even as unto thee, O King. But no more ought it to come to me in thy clothing than in mine, or in thy bed than in

mine, if truly it wills to come unto me. For it hath more wits than to think that I am thou because I wear thy raiment and sleep on thy couch. But we must find out whether it holdeth me of little account; for then it will not appear unto me at all, whether I am in thy raiment or mine own, but will continue to appear unto thee. And if it appeareth unto thee continually, I would say that it is sent of God. But come, if thou art still determined upon this, and if I cannot turn thee from thy purpose, I will sleep on thy couch; and, if it so will, let the vision appear unto me. Till such a time, I will not depart from the opinion which I now hold.'

So spake Artabanus, hoping to show Xerxes that his ¹⁷ words were foolish; but nevertheless he did his bidding. Putting on the robes of Xerxes, he sat down on the king's throne and went to sleep. And there came to him in his sleep the same vision as had appeared unto Xerxes, and standing by him it spake these words: 'Art thou the man that dissuadest Xerxes from warring against Greece? Thou shalt not thwart God's purpose, and go free. For it hath been shown to Xerxes how, if he disobeyeth, it will go hardly with him.' And then ¹⁸ the vision seemed to threaten him, and made as though to burn out his eyes with hot irons. And he, starting up with a loud cry, fled to Xerxes, and, after telling how the dream had come to him, spake, saying: 'O King, forasmuch as I have seen many great nations fall at the hands of lesser ones, I suffered not thy youthful folly to carry all before it. For I knew how great a sin it is to be covetous. Furthermore I remembered how the expedition of Cyrus against the Massagetae had fared, and that of Cambyses against the Ethiopians; and I myself served in time past under Darius against the Scythians. Knowing all this, I determined that it was best for thee to be at peace with all men.

'But since thou art urged on by some spirit of God, and since, as it seems, God will send destruction upon the Greeks, I now have changed my mind. Do thou therefore tell the Persians concerning God's commands, and order them to carry out thy previous bidding to prepare their hosts, neither let the goodness of God be made of none effect because thou art backward in aught.'

Thus spake he ; and being comforted by the vision, when day broke, Xerxes laid the matter before the Persians ; and Artabanus, who before had alone opposed the enterprise, was then in the sight of all men the most desirous for it.

19 And it came to pass after these things that, as Xerxes was about to set forth, a third vision came to him as he slept ; and the Magi, having heard thereof, judged that it concerned the whole earth and that all that dwelt therein would be subject unto him. And this was the vision that appeared unto Xerxes. A wreath of olive appeared round his head, and, behold, the branches thereof stretched out over the whole earth. And thereafter the wreath disappeared from around his head. And when the Magi had interpreted the dream thus, every Persian that had assembled returned to his own country, and there they zealously obeyed the word of Xerxes. For every man was desirous to win the promised gifts. And so Xerxes gathered together a mighty host, drawing it from every corner of the land.

20 Now it was for four full years after the subjection of Egypt that Xerxes prepared this mighty host and made provision for it. And as the fifth year was waning, he set out with this host. And of all the expeditions that the Persians and all the nations of the world ever made this was by far the greatest. For even that of Darius against the Scythians was as nothing beside it, nor that Scythian expedition in which the Scythians, pursuing the Cimmerians, invaded the land of the Medes and overran most of the upper part of Asia, and it was for this that king Darius took revenge. Nor can the attack of the Atridae against Troy be compared to it, nor that of the Mysians and of the Teucrians, which was before the siege of Troy ; for in that day the Mysians and Teucrians crossed over the Bosphorus into Europe and subdued the whole of Thrace and came as far as the Ionian Sea, while in the south they reached the river Peneus.

21 All these expeditions and any others there may have been cannot be compared with that of Xerxes. Was there any tribe in Asia that Xerxes led not up against the Greeks ? Were there any but the mightiest rivers

that failed not when the army had drunk thereof? One nation provided ships, a second was numbered among the footmen, a third he ordered to provide horsemen, and a fourth transports; a fifth furnished warships for bridges, and a sixth both corn and ships.

And inasmuch as destruction had fallen upon his first 22 fleet at Athos, there he made special preparations for three years. For triremes lay anchored at Elaeus in the Chersonese; and setting out thence the men of every nation in the host dug, under the lash, taking the work by turns. And with them dug the inhabitants of Athos. And Bubares the son of Megabazus and Artachaeus the son of Artaeus, men of Persia, were set over the work. Now Athos is a great and famous mountain, stretching out into the sea; and men dwell thereon. And where the mountain joins the mainland it forms a peninsula and an isthmus of twelve furlongs across. Now this is a plain, and from the sea of Acanthus to the sea opposite Torone it is only broken by a few hills of no great height. And in this isthmus, at which Mount Athos ends, there is a Greek city, by name Sanê. And furthermore, outside Sanê and on Athos itself, were several cities also, which Xerxes set about to make islands instead of mainland, as heretofore. And these are called Dium, Olophyxus, Acrothöum, Thyssus, and Cleonae.

Πόλεις μὲν αὗται αἱ τὸν Ἀθων νέμονται, ὥρυσσον 23
δὲ ᾧδε δασάμενοι τὸν χῶρον οἱ βάρβαροι κατὰ ἔθνη.
κατὰ Σάνην πόλιν σχοινοτενὲς ποιησάμενοι, ἐπεὶ ἐγί-
γνετο βαθεῖα ἡ διῶρυξ, οἱ μὲν κατώτατα ἐστῶτες ὥρυσ-
σον, ἕτεροὶ δὲ παρεδίδοσαν τὸν αἶλ ἐξορυσσόμενον χοῦν
ἄλλοις καθύπερθεν ἐστῶσιν ἐπὶ βάθρων, οἱ δ' αὖ ἐκ-
δεχόμενοι ἐτέροις, ἕως ἀφίκοντο ἐς τοὺς ἀνωτάτω· οὗτοι
δὲ ἐξεφόρουν τε καὶ ἐξέβαλλον. τοῖς μὲν νυν ἄλλοις 2
πλὴν Φοινίκων καταρρηγνύμενοι οἱ κρημνοὶ τοῦ ὀρύγ-
ματος πόνον διπλάσιον παρείχον· ἅτε γὰρ τοῦ τε ἄνω
στόματος καὶ τοῦ κάτω τὰ αὐτὰ μέτρα ποιουμένων
ἔμελλεν αὐτοῖς τοιοῦτον ἀποβήσεσθαι. οἱ δὲ Φοίνικες 3

- σοφίαν ἔν τε τοῖς ἄλλοις ἔργοις ἀποδείκνυνται καὶ δὴ καὶ ἐν ἐκείνῳ· ἀπολαχόντες γὰρ μόριον ὅσον αὐτοῖς ἐπέβαλλεν, ὥρυσσον τὸ μὲν ἄνω στόμα τῆς διώρυχος ποιοῦντες διπλάσιον ἢ ὅσον ἔδει αὐτὴν τὴν διώρυχα γενέσθαι, προβαίνοντος δὲ τοῦ ἔργου συνῆγον αἰεὶ· κάτω
- 4 τε δὴ ἐγίγνετο καὶ ἐξισοῦτο τοῖς ἄλλοις τὸ ἔργον· ἐνταῦθα δὲ λειμών ἐστιν, ἵνα αὐτοῖς ἀγορά τε ἐγίγνετο καὶ πρατήριον· σίτος δὲ αὐτοῖς πολὺς ἐφοίτα ἐκ τῆς
- 24 Ἀσίας ἀληλεσμένοις. ὥς μὲν ἐμὲ συμβαλλόμενον εὐρίσκειν, μεγαλοφροσύνης ἕνεκα αὐτὸ Ξέρξης ὀρύσσειν ἐκέλευεν, ἐθέλων τε δύναμιν ἀποδείκνυσθαι καὶ μνημόσυνα λιπέσθαι· παρὸν γὰρ μηδένα πόνον λαβόντας τὸν ἰσθμὸν τὰς ναῦς διερύσαι, ὀρύσσειν ἐκέλευε διώρυχα τῇ θαλάσῃ εὖρος ὡς δύο τριῆρεις πλεῖν ὁμοῦ ἐλαστρουμένας. τοῖς δὲ αὐτοῖς τούτοις οἷσπερ καὶ τὸ ὄρυγμα, προσετέτακτο καὶ τὸν Στρυμόνα ποταμὸν ζεύξαντας γεφυρῶσαι.
- 25 Thus, did Xerxes make the canal ; and furthermore he made ready cables for the bridges, some of papyrus and some of white flax ; and he entrusted this work to the Phoenicians and the Egyptians. And he also brought together food, that hunger might not overtake either the soldiers or the beasts of burden on their march against the Greeks. And after diligently searching out the land, he ordered stores to be collected where it was most convenient ; and from every corner of Asia food was brought, partly in transports, partly in merchantmen. The most part was taken to Leuce-Acte in Thrace ; but stores were also collected at Tyrodiza in the country of the Perinthians, and at Doriscus, and at Eion upon the Strymon, and in Macedonia.
- 26 Now it came to pass that while they were accomplishing the task which was set before them, Xerxes had gathered together all his footmen and, leaving Critalla in Cappadocia, had set out towards Sardis. And the whole army was commanded to assemble there before they marched with Xerxes across the mainland. But

which of the satraps received the promised prizes from the king for leading the best-equipped army into the field, I cannot say; nor do I know whether judgement was ever made therein. And when they had crossed over the river Halys they passed into Phrygia, and marching through it they came to Celaenae, where are the springs of the river Maeander, and of that other river not less than the Maeander, whose name is the Catarrhactes. Now this river, rising in the very market-place of Celaenae, flows into the Maeander. And in this city is hung up the skin of Silenus Marsyas, and the Phrygians say that Apollo hung it there, having stripped it from off him.

Now in this city there dwelt Pythius, the son of Atys, 27 a man of Lydia, and he entertained the whole army of the king very hospitably, and Xerxes he also entertained and promised him money, for he was desirous of providing for the war. And when Pythius promised the money, Xerxes inquired of the Persians standing round, saying: 'Who is this Pythius, and how much money has he that he dares to promise these things?' And they answered and said: 'O King, this is he who gave to thy father Darius the golden plane-tree and the golden vine, and we know him to be the richest of all men after thyself.'

Θαυμάσας δὲ τῶν ἐπῶν τὸ τελευταῖον Ξέρξης αὐτὸς 28
δεύτερα ἤρετο Πύθιον ὅποσα αὐτῷ εἴη χρήματα· ὁ δὲ
εἶπεν· “ὦ βασιλεῦ, οὔτε σε ἀποκρύψω οὔτε σκήψομαι
τὸ μὴ εἰδέναι τὴν ἐμαντοῦ οὐσίαν, ἀλλ’ ἐπιστάμενός
σοι ἀκριβῶς καταλέξω. ἐπεὶ γὰρ τάχιστα σε ἐπνθόμην 2
ἐπὶ θάλασσαν καταβαίνοντα τὴν Ἑλληνίδα, βουλόμενός
σοι δοῦναι ἐς τὸν πόλεμον χρήματα ἐξέμαθον, καὶ εὔρον
λογιζόμενος ἀργυρίου μὲν δύο χιλιάδας οὔσας μοι τα-
λάντων, χρυσίου δὲ τετρακοσίας μυριάδας στατήρων
Δαρεικῶν, ἐπιδεούσας ἑπτὰ χιλιάδων. καὶ τούτοις σε 3
ἐγὼ δωροῦμαι· αὐτῷ δέ μοι ἀπὸ ἀνδραπόδων τε καὶ
γεωπέδων ἀρκῶν ἐστὶ βίος.” ὁ μὲν ταῦτα ἔλεγε, Ξέρξης

29 δὲ ἡσθεῖς τοῖς εἰρημένοις εἶπε· “*Ξένε Λυδέ, ἐγὼ ἐπεὶ ἐξῆλθον τὴν Περσίδα χώραν, οὐδενὶ ἀνδρὶ συνέμιξα ἐς τόδε ὅστις ἠθέλησε ξένια προθεῖναι στρατῷ τῷ ἐμῷ, οὐδὲ ὅστις ἐς ὄψιν τὴν ἐμὴν καταστὰς αὐτεπάγγελτος ἐς τὸν πόλεμον ἐμοὶ ἠθέλησε συμβαλέσθαι χρήματα, ἔξω σοῦ. σὺ δὲ καὶ ἐξένισας μεγάλως στρατὸν τὸν ἐμὸν καὶ χρήματα μεγάλα ἐπαγγέλλει. σοὶ οὖν ἐγὼ ἀντὶ αὐτῶν γέρα τοιάδε δίδωμι· ξένον τέ σε ποιοῦμαι ἐμὸν καὶ τὰς τετρακοσίας μυριάδας σοι τῶν στατήρων ἀποπλήσω παρ’ ἐμαντοῦ δοὺς τὰς ἐπτὰ χιλιάδας, ἵνα μὴ τοι ἐπιδεεῖς ὧσιν αἱ τετρακόσiai μυριάδες ἐπτὰ χιλιάδων,*
3 *ἀλλὰ ἢ σοι ἀπαρτιλογία ὑπ’ ἐμοῦ πεπληρωμένη. κέκμησό τε αὐτὸς ἄπερ αὐτὸς ἐκτῆσω, ἐπίστασό τε εἶναι αἰεὶ τοιοῦτος· οὐ γάρ σοι ταῦτα ποιοῦντι οὔτε ἐς τὸ παρὸν οὔτε ἐς χρόνον μεταμελήσει.*”

30 And it came to pass when he had said these things and fulfilled his promises to Pythius, he marched forward, and when he had passed by the Phrygian city of Anaua, and the lake which gives forth salt, he came to Colossae, the chief city of the Phrygians. Now here the river Lycus, plunging into a chasm in the earth, vanishes from sight; and after about five furlongs it appears yet again, and it too flows into the Maeander. And when the army had set out from Colossae towards the boundaries of Phrygia and Lydia, it came to the city of Cydrara, and there was a boundary stone, firmly fixed; and this had been set up by Croesus, and thereon is an inscription showing the boundaries of the two countries.

31 And when they had marched into Lydia from Phrygia, they came to a parting of the roads, that on the left leading to Caria, and that on the right to Sardis. And as they marched it became necessary for them to cross over the river Maeander, and go past the city of Callatebus, where skilled men make honey from tamarisk and flour. And as they went along, Xerxes noticed a plane-

tree, and for its beauty he gave it golden ornaments and appointed as its guardian one of his Immortals ; and so on the second day they came to Sardis.

And when he had come up to Sardis, he first sent out 32 heralds to Greece to ask for earth and water, and to bid them make ready a feast for the king. But to Athens and Sparta he sent not to ask for earth, but to all the rest of Greece did he send heralds. And for this reason sent he them to ask for earth and water : he thought that those who had not given it to Darius when he sent before, now, being sore afraid, would give it him ; and wishing to inquire truly into the matter he sent them forth.

And when these things had come to pass, Xerxes 33 prepared to go up to Abydos. And in the meanwhile men had been bridging the Hellespont from Asia to Europe.

Now there is in the Hellespontine Chersonese, between the cities of Sestos and Madytus, a rugged shore stretching into the sea opposite to Abydos. And it was there, not long afterwards, when Xanthippus the son of Ariphron was general of the Athenians, that they took Artayctes the satrap of Sestos and nailed him living to a plank ; for it had been he who had taken women into the temple of Protesilaus at Elaeus and there committed many lawless deeds.

It was towards this shore therefore that they built 34 a double bridge. Now it is seven furlongs from Abydos to the farther shore. And it came to pass that when the strait had been bridged, there arose a mighty storm, which destroyed the whole work and washed it away.

Ὡς δ' ἐπύθετο Ξέρξης, δεινὰ ποιούμενος τὸν Ἑλλήσ- 35
ποντον ἐκέλευσε τριακοσίας ἐφικέσθαι μάστιγι πληγὰς
καὶ καθεῖναι ἐς τὸ πέλαγος πεδῶν ζεύγος. ἤδη δὲ
ἤκουσα ὥς καὶ στιγέας ἅμα τούτοις ἀπέπεμψε στίξοντας
τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον. ἐνετέλλετο δὲ οὖν ραπίζοντας λέ- 2
γειν βάρβαρά τε καὶ ἀτάσθαλα. “ὦ πικρὸν ὕδωρ, δε-
σπότης σοι δίκην ἐπιτίθησι τήνδε, ὅτι αὐτὸν ἠδίκησας

οὐδὲν πρὸς ἐκείνου ἄδικον παθόν. καὶ βασιλεὺς μὲν
 Ξέρξης διαβήσεταιί σε, ἣν τε σύ γε βούλῃ ἣν τε μή·
 σοὶ δὲ κατὰ δίκην ἄρα οὐδεὶς ἀνθρώπων θύει ὥς ὄντι
 3 καὶ θολερῶ καὶ ἀλμυρῶ ποταμῶ.” τήν τε δὴ θάλασσαν
 ἐνετέλλετο τούτοις ζημιοῦν καὶ τῶν ἐφεστώτων τῇ ζεύξει
 τοῦ Ἑλλησπόντου ἀποτεμεῖν τὰς κεφαλάς.

36 And those to whom it had been commanded did their duty, but other master-builders continued the bridging, in this wise. They bound together penteconters and triremes, three hundred and sixty on the one side towards the Euxine sea, and three hundred and fourteen on the other: and they placed them at an angle to the Euxine, but with the stream of the Hellespont, so as to keep up the tension of the cables. And when they had linked together very long anchors, they let them down, those on the side of the Euxine to stay them up against the winds which blow from that quarter, and those towards the west and the Aegean for the south and south-east winds. But they left a narrow gap between the penteconters in three places, that any such as desired to sail in and out of the Euxine in small boats might do so. And having done this they made cables taut from the land, winding them with wooden windlasses. And to each bridge they assigned six cables, four of papyrus, and two of white flax, not using them apart as heretofore. These cables were in thickness and quality the same, but in proportion to their size the flaxen are much the heavier, for one cubit weighs a talent. And when the strait had been bridged, they sawed up logs to about the breadth of a pontoon, and they laid them upon the tightened cables, and after laying them in order they made them fast above. And when they had done this they brought brushwood and laid it in order, and earth likewise. And when they had stamped down the earth, they put a railing about it on this side it and on that, that the baggage animals might not be afraid, looking over into the water.

37 And when they had thus finished the bridges, and all the works at Athos, they made breakwaters round the mouth of the cutting; and this they did because of the

surf, that it might not silt up the mouth of the canal. And when the work was completely finished they sent tidings thereof to Xerxes at Sardis, and the army, having passed the winter there, prepared to go up to Abydos. And when they had set out, the sun left his seat in the heavens and vanished; nor was the sky clouded at all but clear, yet was it night instead of day.

And when Xerxes saw this he was greatly troubled, and bade his Wise Men interpret the omen. And they answered that God gave this as a sign of the eclipse of the Greek cities, saying that the sun was the foreshower to the Greeks as was the moon to the Persians. And when Xerxes heard this he was exceeding glad, and continued on his way.

But when the army set out, Pythius the Lydian was 38 sore afraid at the sign from heaven, and being emboldened by the gifts which he had made he came to Xerxes and said: 'O my lord, thy servant hath somewhat to ask of thee, which if thou grant it will be a small matter to thee, but of great moment to thy servant.' And Xerxes, thinking that which he desired to be far other than what it truly was, said that he was ready to grant him his desire, and bade him say on. And when Pythius heard this he spake out boldly, saying: 'Master, thy servant hath five sons, and all of them go up with thee to Greece. Now therefore, O King, have pity on thy servant's years and release one son, the eldest, from thy service, that he may be the guardian of thy servant and of his stuff. But take with thee the four others, O King, and go up and prosper, and come again safely to thy home.'

Κάρτα τε ἐθυμώθη ὁ Ξέρξης καὶ ἡμείβετο τοῖσδε· 39
 “ᾧ Ω κακὲ ἄνθρωπε, σὺ ἐτόλμησας ἐμοῦ στρατευομένου
 αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα καὶ ἄγοντος παιῖδας ἐμοὺς καὶ
 ἀδελφοὺς καὶ οἰκείους καὶ φίλους μνήσασθαι περὶ σοῦ
 παιδός, ὦν ἐμὸς δοῦλος, ὃν χρῆν πανοικίᾳ αὐτῇ τῇ
 γυναικὶ συνέπεσθαι; εὖ νυν τόδ' ἐξεπίστασο, ὥς ἐν τοῖς
 ὥσι τῶν ἀνθρώπων οἰκεῖ ὁ θυμός, ὃς χρηστὰ μὲν ἀκούσας
 τέρψεως ἐμπίπλησι τὸ σῶμα, ὑπεναντία δὲ τούτοις

2 ἀκούσας ἀνοιδεῖ. ὅτε μὲν νυν χρηστὰ ποιήσας ἕτερα
 τοιαῦτα ἐπηγγέλλον, εὐεργεσίαις βασιλέα οὐ καυχῆσει
 ὑπερβαλέσθαι. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐς τὸ ἀναιδέστερον ἐτράπον,
 τὴν μὲν ἀξίαν οὐ λήψει, ἐλάσσω δὲ τῆς ἀξίας. σὲ μὲν
 γὰρ καὶ τοὺς τέσσαρας τῶν παίδων ῥύεται τὰ ξένια.
 τοῦ δὲ ἐνός, οὗ περιέχει μάλιστα, τῇ ψυχῇ ζημιώσει.”
 3 ὥς δὲ ταῦτα ὑπεκρίνατο, αὐτίκα ἐκέλευεν οἷς προσετέ-
 τακτο ταῦτα πράσσειν, τῶν Πυθίου παίδων ἐξευρόντας
 τὸν πρεσβύτατον μέσον διατεμεῖν, διατεμόντας δὲ τὰ
 ἡμίτομα διαθεῖναι τὸ μὲν ἐπὶ δεξιὰ τῆς ὁδοῦ, τὸ δ' ἐπ'
 ἀριστερά, καὶ ταύτῃ διεξιέναι τὸν στρατόν.

40 First then there came the baggage-train and the
 beasts of burden, and after them came an army of divers
 nations, nor was there space between each, but they
 were as one host, and they were more than half the
 army. And after them was left a gap, that they might
 be separated from the king. And before him there
 came a thousand horsemen chosen from among all the
 Persians, and after them a thousand spearmen, with
 their spears turned toward the ground; and after them
 came ten sacred horses of Nisaeon breed, with rich
 trappings. And for this reason are they called Nisaeon,
 for that there is a great plain in Media called Nisaea,
 which breeds the best horses in the world. And behind
 the horses there came the sacred chariot of Zeus, drawn
 by eight milk-white steeds, and behind them came the
 charioteer on foot, holding the reins in his hand, for no
 mortal may sit upon the seat. And after this came
 Xerxes himself in a chariot drawn by Nisaeon horses.
 And the charioteer stood beside, whose name was
 Patiramphe, the son of the Persian Otanes.

41 After this manner therefore did Xerxes go forth from
 Sardis; but when he was so minded he descended out
 of his chariot and went awhile in a coach. And there
 followed after him a thousand horsemen, the mightiest
 in all the land of Persia, who carried their spears accord-
 ing to the usual manner; and after them came yet
 another thousand, and these also were picked men from

among the Persians. And after the horsemen came the foot, ten thousand men chosen from all tribes. And of these a thousand had upon the ends of their spears pomegranates instead of spikes, and the pomegranates were of pure gold; and these men went on the outside of the host round about the others; and the nine thousand had pomegranates of silver upon their spears. And they that turned their spears to the ground had golden pomegranates; while they that followed next unto Xerxes had apples. And after these ten thousand were drawn up the thousand horsemen of the Persians. Then after the horsemen there was a space left of about two furlongs distance and then the remainder of the host followed without ordered array.

Now the host marched from Lydia to the river Caicus 42 and into the land of Mysia; and setting forth from the Caicus and keeping Mount Cana on their left hand, they came through the Atarnean plain unto the city of Carene. Thence they journeyed through the plain of Thebe and passing by Adramyttium, and Antandrus a city of the Pelasgians, and holding to the left of Mount Ida, they entered the land of the Trojans. And as they rested under the foot of Ida, thunder and lightning were sent upon them, so that no small number perished.

And when they were come as far as the Scamander, 43 which is the first river after Sardis, where the water failed them, nor did it suffice for all the host and for their beasts to drink. Now when Xerxes reached this river he was filled with a great desire to see Pergamum, the city of Priam; therefore he went up thither. And when he had seen it and had learned everything concerning it, he sacrificed a thousand oxen to Athene of Troy, and the Wise Men poured libations to the heroes of that place. And during the night, though all these things had been accomplished, consternation fell upon the whole camp. But with day they set forth, and passed on their left hand Rhoeteum and Ophrynum and Dardanus, which is next to Abydos, and on their right hand Teucrian Gergis. And so they came to Abydos.

And it came to pass that when they had come to 44 Abydos Xerxes wished to behold all his host. For he had caused a throne of marble to be made ready for him

at that place against his coming. And when he was set there, he looked down upon all his host which was arrayed upon the shore, and upon all his ships; and when he beheld them he was filled with a desire to see a race between the ships. And when the Phoenicians were victors in the race, he was well pleased, both with them and with all his host.

- 45 Ὡς δὲ ἑώρα πάντα μὲν τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον ὑπὸ τῶν
νεῶν ἀποκεκρυμμένον, πάσας δὲ τὰς ἀκτὰς καὶ τὰ
Ἀβυδηνῶν πεδιά ἐπίπλεα ἀνθρώπων, ἐνταῦθα ὁ Ξέρξης
46 αὐτὸν ἐμακάρισε, μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο ἐδάκρυσεν. μαθὼν δὲ
αὐτὸν Ἀρτάβανος ὁ πάτρως, ὃς τὸ πρῶτον γνώμην
ἀπεδείξατο ἐλευθέρως οὐ συμβουλεύων Ξέρξῃ στρατεύε-
σθαι ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα, οὗτος ἀνὴρ φρασθεὶς Ξέρξην
δακρύσαντα ἤρετο τάδε· “ὦ βασιλεῦ, ὥς πολὺ ἀλλήλων
κεχωρισμένα εἰργάσω νῦν τε καὶ ὀλίγῳ πρότερον· μα-
2 καρίσας γὰρ σεαυτὸν δακρύεις.” ὁ δὲ εἶπεν· “Ἐσῆλθε
γάρ με λογισάμενον κατοικτεῖραι ὡς βραχὺς εἴη ὁ πᾶς
ἀνθρώπινος βίος, εἰ τούτων γε ὄντων τοσούτων οὐδεὶς
ἐς ἑκατοστὸν ἔτος περιέσται.” ὁ δὲ ἡμείβετο λέγων·
“Ἔτερα τούτου παρὰ τὴν ζωὴν πεπόνθαμεν οἰκτρότερα.
3 ἐν γὰρ οὕτω βραχεὶ βίῳ οὐδεὶς οὕτως ἄνθρωπος ὢν
εὐδαίμων πέφυκεν, οὔτε τούτων οὔτε τῶν ἄλλων, ᾧ οὐ
παραστήσεται πολλάκις καὶ οὐχὶ ἅπαξ τεθνάναι βούλε-
σθαι μᾶλλον ἢ ζῆν. αἳ τε γὰρ συμφοραὶ προσπίπτου-
σαι καὶ αἱ νόσοι συνταράσσουσιν καὶ βραχὺν ὄντα
4 μακρὸν δοκεῖν εἶναι ποιοῦσι τὸν βίον. οὕτως ὁ μὲν
θάνατος μοχθηρᾶς οὔσης τῆς ζωῆς καταφυγὴ αἰρετωτάτη
τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ γέγονεν, ὁ δὲ θεὸς γλυκὺν γεύσας τὸν
αἰῶνα φθονερός ἐν αὐτῷ εὐρίσκεται ὢν.”

- 47 Then answered Xerxes and said: ‘O Artabanus, concerning the life of mankind thou hast spoken truly. But

let there be no more talk of such things, but let us put away all thought of trouble from our minds, and remember only the good things which we now enjoy. Yet answer me this one thing : if the vision which appeared to us in sleep had not been so clear, wouldest thou have continued in thy former counsel and not allowed me to go forth against Greece, or wouldest thou have altered thine opinion in these matters ? Answer me truly.' And Artabanus answered and said : 'O King, concerning the vision which appeared unto us in a dream, may it come to pass as we both desire. But I am full of fears, and my heart is sore troubled. For I see that we are at fault in two great things.'

Then answered Xerxes and said : 'O thou most 48 foolish of men, wherefore sayest thou that we are at fault in two things ? Are we lacking in the number of our footmen, or is it that the Greek host will be larger than ours ? Or again, thinkest thou that our fleet is less than theirs ? or are we at fault in both these things ? For if it seems to thee that our preparations are lacking in this way, it were easy to bring together another host with all speed.'

But Artabanus answered the king, saying : 'O King, 49 any man who hath understanding could not find fault with this thine host, nor with the number of the ships ; but the more thou bring together the more shall these things work for thine undoing. For the two things whereof I spoke are the land and the sea. For it seemeth to me that, if a tempest should arise, there is no harbour in all the sea so large that it could receive all thy fleet and give sure protection unto thy ships. There is need, not of one harbour only, but of many, along all the coasts whereby thou wilt advance. Therefore, since there are no harbours which shall suffice, bear in mind that fortune hath power over man, not man over fortune. And I will now speak concerning the second of these two things, to wit the land : and thus shall it harm thee. If no man oppose thee, thou wilt each day advance farther, being enticed to go forward ; for no man hath ever his fill of success. And when thou hast gone far, then will famine overtake thee. Therefore I say unto thee that it is best for a man in taking counsel to walk

warily, expecting all manner of calamities, but in time of action to show a stout heart and a good courage.'

- 50 Then said Xerxes: 'O Artabanus, concerning these two things thou hast spoken truly. But it is not wise to be timorous in all things. For if thou wert to consider everything alike, whenever thou wast conducting a great matter, thou wouldst never accomplish anything at all. For it is better to have courage in all things and to suffer half of the disasters, than to have fear of all things beforehand and to meet with no mishap. But if, while refuting the counsel of others, thou thyself canst not show us the sure way to success, thou art as likely to do us a hurt as those that counsel rashly. For the one is no better than the other. And success comes more to those who desire action than to those who are too prudent and timorous in all things.

'Thou knowest how great is the power of the Persians. But I say unto thee that if those who were kings before me had used such counsellors as thee, the power of the Persians would never have been so great as at this day. For they hazarded themselves in all manner of dangers, and therefore hath our nation prospered. For only by great hazards may great success be won. Acting therefore in like manner to them, we are going forth at the best season of the year, and will return whence we came, having brought into subjection the whole of Europe. Nor shall we suffer from famine nor from any other mishap. For we ourselves are taking with us much food, and there is moreover the produce of all those lands against which we go. For the people against which we go are tillers of the soil and no wandering folk; therefore will food be plentiful.'

- 51 Then answered Artabanus, saying: 'O King, since thou art resolved that we should fear nothing, at least, I pray thee, incline thine ear to my counsel. For in matters of such great import it is but meet that thou shouldest hearken unto the words of thy counsellors. In the past Cyrus the son of Cambyzes subdued all the Ionians and forced them to pay tribute, save only the Athenians. Therefore I warn thee to shun these men of Ionia and not to take them with thee against their countrymen, for thou mayest easily subdue thine

enemies without their aid. But if they follow with us and enslave their mother city, then will they be the most wicked of all men; and if on the contrary they lend their aid to keep it safe, then are they true men. And if they show themselves wicked they will bring on us but small advantage, but if true men, then are they able to do thine host great damage. Be thou therefore mindful of the ancient saying: "The end of a matter doth not appear in the beginning", for these are true words!

Then answered Xerxes and said: 'O Artabanus, in 52 all thy counsel thou errest in naught so much as in fearing lest the Ionians should go over to the side of the enemy. For we have a proof of their faithfulness, of which thou and the others who fought with Darius against the Scythians are witnesses. For when the fate of the whole Persian host was in their hands they remained faithful, and yielded not to the pleadings of our enemies, but were true to us. Moreover we have all their wives and children, as many as dwell in our land, as hostages. Therefore fear nothing, but be of a good courage and help me to save the glory of my house. For to thee alone do I entrust my sceptre.'

And having spoken these words Xerxes sent Artabanus 53 away to Susa for the second time; and after that he sent for all the mighty men of the Persians, and when they were come unto him he spake unto them, saying: 'Men of Persia, I have sent for you this day forasmuch as I would bid you acquit yourselves like men and be worthy of your forefathers who fought before you. Let your hearts be bold and your arms strong, for it is for the common weal of our nation that we shall do battle. And I bid you be of a good courage; for though this is a mighty people against whom we go up to do battle, yet there is no people that may withstand the might of our arms. Then let us put our trust in the gods that watch over the land of Persia, and let us cross over with a fearless heart.'

Ταύτην μὲν τὴν ἡμέραν παρεσκευάζοντο ἐς τὴν διά- 54
 ρασιν, τῇ δὲ ὑστεραίᾳ ἀνέμενον τὸν ἥλιον ἐθέλοντες
 ἰδέσθαι ἀνίσχοντα, θυμιάματά τε παντοῖα ἐπὶ τῶν

γεφυρῶν καθαγίζοντες καὶ μυρσίαις στορνύντες τὴν ὁδόν.
 2 ὥς δ' ἐπανετέλλεν ὁ ἥλιος, σπένδων ἐκ χρυσῆς φιάλης
 Ξέρξης ἐς τὴν θάλασσαν εὔχετο πρὸς τὸν ἥλιον μηδε-
 μίαν οἱ συντυχίαν τοιαύτην γενέσθαι, ἢ παύσει κατα-
 στρέψασθαι τὴν Εὐρώπην πρότερον ἢ ἐπὶ τέρμασι τοῖς
 ἐκείνης γένηται. εὐξάμενος δὲ ἐσέβαλε τὴν φιάλην ἐς
 τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον καὶ χρυσοῦν κρατῆρα καὶ Περσικὸν
 3 ξίφος, ὃ ἀκινάκην καλοῦσι. ταῦτα οὐκ ἔχω ἀκριβῶς
 διακρίναι οὔτε εἰ τῷ ἡλίῳ ἀνατιθεὶς καθῆκεν ἐς τὸ
 πέλαγος οὔτε εἰ μετεμέλησεν αὐτῷ τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον
 μαστιγώσαντι καὶ ἀντὶ τούτων τὴν θάλασσαν ἐδωρεῖτο.

55 And after Xerxes had made an end of doing these things, the whole host began the crossing. And across the upper bridge which was toward the Pontus went the horsemen and the footmen, every man with a garland upon his head ; and across the lower bridge which was toward the Aegean went the beasts of burden and the followers of the camp. And on the first day there passed over ten thousand Persians, every man with a garland upon his head, and after them passed over men of all nations in no fixed array. And on the next day crossed the horsemen, holding their spears downwards, and these, too, had garlands upon their heads. And after them came the sacred chariot and the sacred horses. And then came Xerxes himself, and with him the spearmen and the thousand horsemen, and after them all that remained of the host. And while they were passing over, the ships also put across to the other side. Thus did they cross. But according to another account King Xerxes passed over last of all.

56 Ξέρξης δὲ ἐπεὶ διέβη ἐς τὴν Εὐρώπην, ἐθεᾶτο τὸν στρατὸν ὑπὸ μαστίγων διαβαίνοντα. διέβη δὲ ὁ στρα-
 τὸς αὐτοῦ ἐν ἑπτὰ ἡμέραις καὶ ἑπτὰ εὐφρόναις, ἐλινύσας
 2 οὐδένα χρόνον. ἐνταῦθα λέγεται Ξέρξου ἤδη διαβεβη-
 κότος τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον ἄνδρα εἰπεῖν Ἑλλησπόντιον.

“ὦ Ζεῦ, τί δὴ ἀνδρὶ εἰδόμενος Πέρσῃ καὶ ὄνομα ἀντὶ Διὸς Ξέρξην θέμενος ἀνάστατον τὴν Ἑλλάδα θέλεις ποιῆσαι, ἄγων πάντας ἀνθρώπους; καὶ γὰρ ἄνευ τούτων ἐξῆν σοι ποιεῖν ταῦτα.”

Now when they had all passed over, they set out 57 again upon their march. And a strange sign appeared unto them; but though the meaning thereof was plain to all, the king heeded it not. Now this was the sign: a mare brought forth a hare. And this was the interpretation: that Xerxes would go up against Greece in the fulness of his power, but that he would return again, fleeing from before the face of his enemies, with his pride humbled to the dust. Another sign also was given to Xerxes while he was yet at Sardis: for a mule brought forth a foal that was neither male nor female. But this sign also was lightly esteemed by the king.

So Xerxes heeded not the signs, but led forth the 58 host. But his ships departed unto the mouth of the Hellespont, and sailed by the coast of the Chersonese. Thus were they carried westward unto Cape Sarpedon, where Xerxes had ordained that they should await his coming. But he passed through the Chersonese towards the rising of the sun, keeping on his right hand the tomb of Helle, the daughter of Athamas, and on his left hand the city of Cardia. And he went through the midst of the city that is called Agora. And after this he led his army round the Gulf of Melas, going over the river that is called Melas, from which that gulf takes its name. But the waters of the river were not enough to give drink to all the host, but were dried up. But when he had gone over the river he marched westwards, and leaving Aenus, a city of the Aeolians, and likewise Lake Stentoris, he came into Doriscus.

Now the name Doriscus is given to a great plain and 59 to a sandy coast that is on the borders of Thrace; and through the midst of it there flows the mighty river Hebrus. There also was a fenced city of the king, which likewise was called Doriscus; and here had been a Persian garrison ever since the day when Darius went up against the Scythians. Now this plain seemed to Xerxes

a fitting place whereon to draw up and number his array; which things therefore he set himself to do. But the sea-captains, who had brought the ships to Doriscus, he commanded to take them to the place near by, where stands Salê, a city of the Samothracians, and Zonê, another city. And in time past all the dwellers in the region round about were Ciconians. Here then did the captains drag the ships ashore, and make them sound again. But in the meantime Xerxes was numbering the host in Doriscus.

- 60 "Ὅσον μὲν νυν ἕκαστοι παρείχον πλήθος ἐς ἀριθμόν, οὐκ ἔχω εἰπεῖν τὸ ἀκριβές (οὐ γὰρ λέγεται πρὸς οὐδένων ἀνθρώπων), σύμπαντος δὲ τοῦ στρατοῦ τοῦ περὶ τὸ
 2 πλήθος ἐφάνη ἑβδομήκοντα καὶ ἑκατὸν μυριάδες. ἐξη-
 ρίθησαν δὲ τόνδε τὸν τρόπον· συναγαγόντες ἐς ἓνα
 χῶρον μυριάδα ἀνθρώπων καὶ συννάξαντες ταύτην ὡς
 μάλιστα εἶχον περιέγραψαν ἔξωθεν κύκλον· περιγρὰ-
 ψαντες δὲ καὶ ἀφέντες τοὺς μυρίους αἵμασιαν περιέ-
 βαλον κατὰ τὸν κύκλον, ὕψος ἀνήκουσαν ἀνδρὶ ἐς τὸν
 ὀμφαλόν. ταύτην δὲ ποιήσαντες ἄλλους ἐσεβίβαζον ἐς
 τὸ περιφκοδομημένον, μέχρι οὗ πάντας τούτῳ τῷ τρόπῳ
 ἐξηρίθμησαν. ἀριθμήσαντες δὲ κατὰ ἔθνη διέτασσαν.
- 61 Οἱ δὲ στρατευόμενοι οἵδε ἦσαν, Πέρσαι μὲν ὧδε ἐσκευα-
 σμένοι· περὶ μὲν ταῖς κεφαλαῖς εἶχον τιάρας καλου-
 μένους, πῖλους ἀπαγεῖς, περὶ δὲ τὸ σῶμα χιτῶνας χειριδω-
 τοὺς ποικίλους, . . . λεπίδος σιδηρᾶς ὅψιν ἰχθυοειδοῦς,
 περὶ δὲ τὰ σκέλη ἀναξυρίδας, ἀντὶ δὲ ἀσπίδων γέρρα.
 ὑπὸ δὲ φαρετρεῶνες ἐκρέμαντο· αἰχμᾶς δὲ βραχείας εἶχον,
 τόξα δὲ μεγάλα, οἷστοὺς δὲ καλαμίνους, πρὸς δὲ ἐγχειρίδια
 παρὰ τὸν δεξιὸν μηρὸν παραιωρούμενα ἐκ τῆς ζώνης.

Chapters 62 to 98 inclusive.

Here follows a long description of the equipage and commanders of the various nations who served in the army, culminating in a list of the captains of the fleet.

Of the other officers I shall make no mention, for 99 there is no need; but of Artemisia, whose part in the war upon Greece causes me to wonder exceedingly, notwithstanding that she was a woman, of her would I fain speak. For when her husband died she ruled in his stead, though she had a son who had reached manhood; and though there was no need for her to adventure herself, yet on account of her courage and manly heart she herself went forth to battle. And being daughter of Lygdamis she was called Artemisia, being of Halicarnassus on the father's side, yet by her mother she was of Crete. And she governed the men of Halicarnassus, and the men of Cos, and the men of Nisyrus, and the men of Calydna, and she furnished five triremes, yea, and she supplied the noblest ships, after those of Sidon, of the whole fleet, and of all the allies she gave the wisest counsels. And the cities over which she ruled were one and all of Dorian race, for the men of Halicarnassus were from Troezen and the rest from Epidaurus.

Now when they had made an end of the counting and 100 marshalling of the host, Xerxes wished to go himself and to traverse the ranks and to see all his army. And so it came to pass that he went through the ranks of the soldiers in his chariot, and visiting tribe by tribe he asked many questions, and the answers his scribes wrote down. And so he passed from end to end of the horsemen and footmen. And when he had made an end of all this, Xerxes came down out of his chariot, and entered into a ship of Sidon, and sat down beneath a golden canopy, and sailed passing by the prows of the ships and making inquiries, as he had done from the footmen, and then also the answers were written down. And the captains sailed their ships nearly six score paces from the beach, and let down their anchors, turning their prows full face to the shore, and armed all their men as though it were for battle. And the king made his way in the space between the prows of the ships and the land.

And it came to pass after Xerxes had sailed by them 101 all and was gone up out of the ship, that he sent after Demaratus the son of Ariston, who was accompanying

him in his march against Greece, and spake unto him thus: 'Demaratus, I have a mind to inquire of thee certain things which I am desirous to know. Thou art of Greece, and, as I learn from thine own lips and from the other Greeks with whom I hold conversation, thou art a citizen of no mean city, neither is it at all the weakest in the country. Come now, tell me: will the Greeks make resistance unto us or no? Mine own judgement is that not even if all the Greeks and all the other tribes that dwell in the west were gathered together into one place would they be so strong in numbers that they might withstand my attack, since they are not of one mind. I desire, however, to learn thy opinion concerning the matter.' Thus he questioned him, and Demaratus made answer in his turn: 'O King, wishest thou for a true answer, or wouldst thou have a pleasing answer?' And Xerxes bade him give a true answer, swearing that he should not the less be held in honour than heretofore.

102 So Demaratus, when he heard the oath, thus spake: 'O King, since thou commandest me to speak the truth, and not to say things which will some day show me to have lied to thee, this is my answer. Greece hath always been oppressed by want, but valour is their ally that they have won for themselves by wisdom and strict laws; and with her aid the Greeks have driven away want and thralldom. I praise all the Greeks who live in Dorian lands, but what I purpose to say is not about all the Greeks, but about the Lacedaemonians alone. In the first place, however matters stand, they will not hearken to thy words, whereby they would come to slavery; furthermore, they will assuredly fight against thee, even if all the other Greeks should bow beneath thy yoke. Concerning their numbers, inquire not how many they are that they should be able to do this thing, for if a thousand march out to battle then will a thousand fight, and likewise any number, be it less or more.'

103 When Xerxes heard this, he laughed him to scorn, and said: 'Demaratus, what words are these? Will a thousand meet such a force as mine in battle? Come then, tell me, thou who affirmest that thou wast once their lord, wilt thou now do combat with ten men? For

if thy fellow-countrymen be indeed as thou sayest, it is right for thee, who art their king, by thine own country's customs to set thyself against twice such a number. For if each man of them be equal to ten of my soldiers, of thee may I require to fight twenty; so wouldst thou prove that what thou hast said is true. If, however, the Greeks, who boast themselves to be so mighty, truly resemble thee and those that are among my following, how are the words which thou hast said more than an empty boast? For, to go to the very limits of likelihood, how could a thousand, or even ten thousand, or even fifty thousand, more especially if they were all free men and not under one lord, resist so mighty a host as mine? If they be five thousand, we shall be more than a thousand to each one of them. If indeed they were under one lord, after the manner of our host, then in their fear of him they would be braver than before, or they might be driven under the lash against an enemy that was greater than they. But of their own choice they will assuredly do no such things. I believe that if the Greeks met the Persians alone, in equal numbers, the Greeks would barely stand their ground against them. Among us, too, there are some such as those of whom thou spakest, not many indeed, but a few. And there are some of my bodyguard who would willingly fight single-handed with three Greeks. But since thou wert ignorant of this thou talkest like a fool.'

And Demaratus made answer and said: 'O King, I 104 knew from the beginning that if I spake the truth my words would not please thee. But since thou didst bid me answer thee with all truth I have told thee what the Spartans will do. And this I said not out of love for them, as thou thyself knowest well; for they have robbed me of my throne and of my honours and caused me to go forth out of my own country; but thy father did take me in and gave me victuals and shelter. Is it likely that a prudent man should be unthankful for so many benefits and not cherish them exceedingly? Yet will I not undertake myself to fight against ten men, nor even two; nay, if I had the choice, I would prefer not to fight with one. But if it were needful, or if some great cause came upon me, I would gladly contend with

one of those men who vaunt themselves to be equal each to three Greeks. In like manner the Lacedaemonians when contending singly are no worse than other men, but fighting together are the most courageous of all mankind. For though they be free men, yet they are not altogether free; for law is their master, and they fear it more than thy subjects fear thee. Whatever it bids them they perform, and its commandment is always the same: they may not flee in battle, however great be the number of their adversaries, but they must stand firm and either conquer or perish. And if in these words I seem to thee to speak like a fool, then I will hold my peace from this time forth. I would not now have spoken save that thou didst bid me; and I pray that all things may be as thou desirest, O King.'

105 Thus he answered, and Xerxes was not wroth with him, but laughed and sent him away with kind words. And when he had made an end of these sayings, having made Mascames, son of Megadostes, governor of Doriscus instead of the governor appointed by Darius, Xerxes marched with his army upon Greece through Thrace.

106 This Mascames, whom he had left behind him, was so zealous that to him alone Xerxes sent gifts every year, because he surpassed all the other governors whom Xerxes or Darius had appointed. Likewise also Artaxerxes, the son of Xerxes, sent gifts yearly to the children of Mascames. For even before Xerxes went up to make war upon Greece, governors were appointed over all the cities of Thrace and of the lands over against the Hellespont, but all those who were from Thrace and the Hellespont, save the governor of Doriscus, were driven out of their cities after the expedition. But none was strong enough to drive out Mascames, though many tried. For this reason the king of the Persians sends him gifts every year.

107 Τῶν δὲ ἐξαιρεθέντων ὑπὸ Ἑλλήνων οὐδένα βασιλεὺς Ξέρξης ἐνόμισεν εἶναι ἄνδρα ἀγαθὸν εἰ μὴ Βόγην μόνον τὸν ἐξ Ἡϊόνος. τοῦτον δὲ αἰνῶν οὐκ ἐπαύετο καὶ τοὺς περιόντας αὐτοῦ ἐν Πέρσαις παῖδας ἑτίμα μάλιστα,

ἐπεὶ καὶ ἄξιός ἐπαίνου μεγάλου ἐγένετο Βόγης· ὃς ἐπειδὴ ἐπολιορκεῖτο ὑπὸ Ἀθηναίων καὶ Κίμωνος τοῦ Μιλτιάδου, παρὸν αὐτῷ ὑπόσπονδον ἐξελθεῖν καὶ νοστῆσαι ἐς τὴν Ἀσίαν, οὐκ ἠθέλησε, μὴ δειλία δόξειε περιεῖναι βασιλεῖ, ἀλλὰ διεκαρτέρει ἐς τὸ ἔσχατον. ὥς δ' οὐδὲν ἔτι φορβῆς ἐνῆν ἐν τῷ τείχει, συννήσας πυρὰν μεγάλην ἔσφαξε τὰ τέκνα καὶ τὴν γυναῖκα καὶ τὰς παλλακὰς καὶ τοὺς οἰκέτας καὶ ἔπειτα ἐσέβαλεν ἐς τὸ πῦρ, μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα τὸν χρυσὸν ἅπαντα τὸν ἐκ τοῦ ἄστεως καὶ τὸν ἄργυρον ἔσπειρεν ἀπὸ τοῦ τείχους ἐς τὸν Στρυμόνα, ποιήσας δὲ ταῦτα ἑαυτὸν ἐσέβαλεν ἐς τὸ πῦρ. οὕτω μὲν οὗτος δικαίως αἰνεῖται ἔτι καὶ ἐς τὸδε ὑπὸ Περσῶν.

Xerxes continued his march from Doriscus upon 108 Greece, and constrained all the peoples on his way to join with him; for, as I have already shown, the whole country as far as Thessaly was in subjection under the king, for it had been subdued by Megabazus and afterwards by Mardonius. And leaving Doriscus, Xerxes first passed the fenced cities of the Samothracians, whereof Mesambria is farthestmost to the west; next to it is Stryme which belongs to the men of Thasos; and between it and Mesambria in the midst runs the river Lissus, which was not sufficient to furnish water for the army to drink, but failed. This region was of old called Gallaica, and is now Briantica, but in truth it also is of the Ciconians.

And crossing the bed of the Lissus, which had been 109 drained dry, Xerxes passed these Greek cities: Maroneia and Dicaea and Abdera, and in like manner the famous lakes near them: Lake Ismaris, between Maroneia and Stryme, and Lake Bistonis near Dicaea, into which are poured the waters of two rivers, the Travus and the Compsatus. He passed no famous lake near Abdera, but he crossed over the river Nestus, which in that place flows into the sea. And after these places he came to many inland cities, one of which had a lake

nearly thirty furlongs in circumference, full of fish and very salt; and only the beasts of burden drank of it, but they alone drained it dry. And the name of the city was Pistyrus. Now all these towns, which were Greek and lay along the coast, Xerxes kept upon his left hand.

II0 The following are the tribes of Thrace through whose country he marched: the Paeti, the Ciconians, the Bistonians, the Sapaean, the Dersaeans, the Edonians, and the Satrae. And of these, those that dwelt along the coast provided ships for the royal fleet, while those that dwelt inland of whom I have already written, save only the Satrae, were constrained to serve on foot.

III Never yet as far as we know have the Satrae been conquered by any man, but they alone of the Thracians remain free to this day; for they dwell among high mountains with trees of divers kinds, and the tops thereof are covered with snow; and they are mighty men of valour. They have moreover an oracle of Dionysus in their land. This oracle is on the highest of their mountains, and the Bessi, a tribe of the Satrae, deliver the oracles; but the prophet is a woman even as in Delphi, nor are her sayings less full of guile.

II2 But when Xerxes the king had passed by these towns, next to these he passed the strong places of Pieria, one of which men call Phragres, and the other Pergamus. And he made his journey close by the walls thereof, keeping on his right hand the lofty mountain of Pangaeum, in which are mines both of gold and of silver which are worked by the Pierians, the Odomanians, but most of all by the Satrae.

II3 And when he had passed the Paeonian tribes, the Doberians and the Paeoplae, who have their habitation on the north side of Pangaeum, he went towards the west until he came unto the river Strymon and the city Eion which was governed by Boges, of whom I have written before and who was yet alive at that day. The land round Pangaeum is called Phyllis; on the west it stretches unto the river Angites, which flows into the Strymon, and on the south unto the Strymon itself. Here the Wise Men sacrificed white horses to make the stream favourable.

Φαρμακεύσαντες δὲ ταῦτα ἐς τὸν ποταμὸν καὶ ἄλλα 114
 πολλὰ πρὸς τούτοις ἐν Ἐννέα ὁδοῖς ταῖς Ἡδωνῶν ἐπο-
 ρεύοντο κατὰ τὰς γεφύρας, τὸν Στρυμόνα εὐρόντες
 ἐξευγμένον. Ἐννέα δὲ ὁδοὺς πυνθανόμενοι τὸν χώρον
 τοῦτον καλεῖσθαι τοσοῦτους ἐν αὐτῷ παῖδας τε καὶ παρ-
 θένους ἀνδρῶν τῶν ἐπιχωρίων ζῶντας κατώρυsson.
 Περσικὸν δὲ τὸ ζῶντας κατορύσσειν, ἐπεὶ καὶ Ἀμηστριν 2
 τὴν Ξέρξου γυναῖκα πυνθάνομαι γηράσασαν δις ἑπτὰ
 Περσῶν παῖδας, ὄντων ἐπιφανῶν ἀνδρῶν, ὑπὲρ ἑαυτῆς
 τῷ ὑπὸ γῆν λεγομένῳ εἶναι θεῷ ἀντιχαρίζεσθαι κατο-
 ρύσσουσιν.

And the host marching westwards from the Strymon 115
 came to a strip of shore on which was built the Greek city
 that is called Argilus; this and the land above it men
 call Bisaltia. There Xerxes passed through the plain
 which is called the Sylaeon plain, keeping the gulf of
 Poseideum on his left hand. And passing by the Greek
 city Stagirus he came to Acanthus, at the same time
 gathering together those who dwelt in these parts and
 round about Pangaeum, like those others of whom I
 wrote before; the dwellers along the coast being made
 to serve in the ships, while those that dwelt inland he
 made to follow on foot. And this road, by which Xerxes
 led his host, the Thracians neither plough nor sow with
 seed, but they hold it in great honour to this day.

And when Xerxes came unto Acanthus and heard 116
 concerning the canal, he saluted the Acanthians as his
 friends, and seeing their zeal for the war he presented
 them with a Median robe and commended them.

And while Xerxes tarried in Acanthus, it came to 117
 pass that Artachaees who presided over the canal fell
 sick and died. This man had found favour in the
 sight of Xerxes and was by birth an Achaemenid;
 moreover he was the mightiest of the Persians, for his
 height was five royal cubits save four fingers, and his
 voice was louder than any other man's upon earth.
 Therefore was Xerxes sore troubled, and he carried
 him out and buried him with exceeding great magnifi-

cence; and the whole host raised a mound over him. And this man Artachaees the Acanthians in obedience to an oracle honour as a hero and call upon his name to this day. Moreover Xerxes the king was sore troubled at the death of Artachaees.

- 118 But the Greeks who received the host and provided victuals for Xerxes were thereby mightily distressed, so that they were driven from house and home; wherefore the Thasians, who because they had cities upon the mainland, were receiving and providing for the host of Xerxes, chose Antipater, the son of Orgeus, one of the citizens of best repute, and assigned to him the provisioning; and he showed that four hundred talents of
119 silver were spent thereon; and the overseers in the other cities showed accounts not greatly different. For the food, which was ordered no little while before and was of much importance, was prepared thus: as soon as the herald had gone round and certified them, the citizens divided the corn in the cities and all made wheaten flour and barley meal for many months; then they obtained the finest cattle at a high price and fattened them, and they bred up land-fowl and water-fowl also, both in their houses and in ponds, to be in readiness for the host; then they made vessels of gold and vessels of silver, and bowls and divers other things for the use of them that sit at meat.

- 3 Ταῦτα μὲν αὐτῷ τε βασιλεῖ καὶ τοῖς ὁμοσίτοις μετ' ἐκείνου ἐπεποίητο, τῇ δὲ ἄλλῃ στρατιᾷ τὰ ἐς φορβὴν μόνᾳ τὰσσόμενα. ὅπως δὲ ἀφίκοιτο ἡ στρατιά, σκηνὴ μὲν ἦν πεπηγυῖα ἐτοίμη ἐς ἣν αὐτὸς σταθμὸν ἐποιεῖτο
4 Ξέρξης, ἡ δὲ ἄλλῃ στρατιᾷ ἦν ὑπαίθριος. ὥς δὲ δειπνου γίγνοιτο ὥρα, οἱ μὲν δεχόμενοι εἶχον πόνον, οἱ δὲ ὅπως πλησθέντες νύκτα αὐτοῦ ἀγάγοιεν, τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ τήν τε σκηνὴν ἀνασπᾶσαντες καὶ τὰ ἐπιπλα πάντα λαβόντες οὕτω ἀπέλυνον, λείποντες οὐδὲν ἀλλὰ φερό-
120 μνοι. ἔνθα δὲ Μεγακρέοντος ἀνδρὸς Ἀβδηρίτου ἔπος εὔειρμμένον ἐγένετο, ὃς συνεβούλευσεν Ἀβδηρίταις

πανδημεὶ αὐτοὺς καὶ γυναῖκας, ἐλθόντας ἐς τὰ σφέτερα
 ἱερὰ ἵζεσθαι ἰκέτας τῶν θεῶν παραιτουμένους καὶ τὸ
 λοιπὸν σφίσιν ἀπαμύνειν τῶν ἐπιόντων κακῶν τὰ ἡμίσεα,
 τῶν τε παροιχομένων ἔχειν αὐτοῖς μεγάλην χάριν, ὅτι
 βασιλεὺς Ξέρξης οὐ δις ἐκάστης ἡμέρας ἐνόμισε σῖτον
 αἰρεῖσθαι· παρέχειν γὰρ ἂν Ἀβδηρίταις, εἰ καὶ ἄριστον α
 προείρητο ὅμοια τῷ δείπνῳ παρασκευάζειν, ἢ μὴ ὑπο-
 μένειν Ξέρξην ἐπιόντα ἢ καταμείναντας κάκιστα πάντων
 ἀνθρώπων ἐκτριβῆναι.

These men, though sore afflicted, nevertheless did 121
 according to the decree of Xerxes the king. And at
 Acanthus Xerxes allowed the captains to sail on and
 part company from him, and he commanded them to
 await him at Therma in the Thermaic Gulf, which takes
 its name from the city; for hereby, as Xerxes learned,
 was the shortest road. As far as Acanthus the host
 had journeyed from Doriscus in this fashion: Xerxes
 divided the host into three parts; one of them he
 ordered to go along the coast with the ships—this
 was commanded by Mardonius and Masistes; another
 was ordered to take an inland road—this was com-
 manded by Tritantaechmes and Gergis; the third part,
 with which Xerxes himself marched, took a middle
 road—this was commanded by Smerdomenes and
 Megabyzus.

Synopsis of Chapters 122, 123, 124.

Thereupon the ships left the king and sailed to
 Therma, gathering supplies as they went. Xerxes
 meanwhile proceeded with the host, taking a short
 road by land to Therma.

Πορευομένῳ δὲ ταύτῃ λέοντες αὐτῷ ἐπέθεντο ταῖς 125
 σιτοφόροις καμήλοις· καταφοιτῶντες γὰρ οἱ λέοντες τὰς
 νύκτας καὶ λείποντες τὰ σφέτερα ἦθη ἄλλου μὲν οὐδενὸς
 ἤπτοντο οὔτε ὑποζυγίου οὔτε ἀνθρώπου, οἱ δὲ τὰς καμή-
 λους ἐκεράϊζον μόνας. θαυμάζω δὲ τὸ αἴτιον, ὃ τι ποτὲ

ἦν τῶν ἄλλων τὸ ἀναγκάζον ἀπεχομένους τοὺς λέοντας
 ταῖς καμήλοις ἐπιτίθεσθαι, ὃ μήτε πρότερον ἐωράκεσαν
 126 θηρίον μήτε πεπειραμένοι ἦσαν αὐτοῦ. εἰσὶ δὲ κατὰ
 ταῦτα τὰ χωρία καὶ λέοντες πολλοὶ καὶ βόες ἄγριοι, ὧν
 τὰ κέρα ὑπερμεγέθη ἐστὶ τὰ ἐς Ἑλληνας φοιτῶντα. ὄρος
 δὲ τοῖς λέουσιν ἐστὶν ὃ τε δι' Ἀβδήρων ῥέων ποταμὸς
 Νέστος καὶ ὃ δι' Ἀκαρνανίας ῥέων Ἀχελῷος· οὔτε γὰρ
 τὸ πρὸς τὴν ἕω τοῦ Νέστου οὐδαμοῦ πάσης τῆς ἔμ-
 προσθεν Εὐρώπης ἴδοι τις ἂν λέοντα, οὔτε πρὸς ἐσπέρας
 τοῦ Ἀχελῷου ἐν τῇ ἐπιλοίπῳ ἡπείρῳ, ἀλλ' ἐν τῇ μεταξὺ
 τούτων τῶν ποταμῶν γίνονται.

127 And when Xerxes came to Therma, he caused the
 host to halt there. And they encamped round about in
 these coasts: from the city of Therma in Mygdonia
 until thou comest to the rivers Lydias and Haliacmon,
 which form the boundary between Bottiaeis and Mace-
 donia and which mingle their waters in one stream.
 The barbarians encamped in these places; and of these
 rivers of which I have written the Echidorus, which
 flows from the land of the Crestonaeans, alone did not
 suffice for the host to drink, but failed.

128 And when Xerxes beheld from Therma Olympus and
 Ossa, the mountains of Thessaly, whose height was
 exceeding great, and when he learned that there was a
 narrow gorge through the midst thereof through which
 the river Peneus flowed, and when he heard that
 thereby there was a way into Thessaly, he was desirous
 to set sail and to behold the mouth of the Peneus, since
 he was of a mind to march by this upper road through
 the land of the Macedonians who live inland to Per-
 rhaebia, and to come down by the city of Gonnus; for
 he heard that this was the safest road. And as he
 desired, so did he; and when he had entered a Sidonian
 ship, as he was wont whenever he was desirous to do a
 thing of this sort, he gave signal to the others also to
 put out and to leave the host there. But when Xerxes
 had come and beheld the mouth of the Peneus, he was
 astonished; and when he had called the guides, he

inquired of them whether it were possible to turn the river so that it might flow into the sea by another way.

Now men say that Thessaly was formerly a lake and 129
that high mountains were round about it on every side. And to this very day it is so : on the east are set Pelion and Ossa, on the north Olympus, on the west Pindus, on the south and south-west Othrys. And the name of the land that lies between is Thessaly. It is a deep basin, and many rivers pour their waters into it ; and the greatest of these are the Peneus, the Apidanus, the Onochonus, the Enipeus, and the Pamisus. These rivers, rising in the mountains and meeting in the plain, there mingle their waters, and flow into the sea through a narrow gorge, having become one river ; and the name of this river is the Peneus. But it is said that in former days there was no gorge by which the river might pass through. Wherefore these rivers and Lake Boebeis, though in that day they were known by no names, flowed down into Thessaly and made it a sea. And the Thessalians say that Poseidon made this gorge, and their words are wise ; for whosoever believes that Poseidon brings earthquakes to pass would say that he had made this gorge ; for to me it is manifest that the cleft in the hills was wrought by an earthquake.

So when Xerxes asked the guides whether the Peneus 130
had any other outlet to the sea, they, knowing their country well, answered and said : ‘ O King, there is no other outlet to the sea than that which thou beholdest, for mountains are round about the whole of ‘Thessaly.’ And Xerxes said : ‘ Truly the Thessalians are a wise folk, and it was not without due cause that they changed their counsels and took heed for the safety of their land. For their land is easy to be overcome : one needs but to turn the course of this river backwards, blocking up the outlet through which it flows, and the whole of Thessaly will be covered with water.’ And he spake these words having in his mind the sons of Aleuas, who were Thessalians, and who had been the first of all the Greeks to deliver themselves to the king, and Xerxes thought that they had made their offers of friendship on behalf of the whole tribe. So, having spoken these

words and surveyed the land, he sailed back to Therma.

131 Now Xerxes abode in Pieria for many days. And during that time a third of the army was busied in hewing down the trees on the mountains of Macedonia, for Xerxes wished the whole army to pass through by that way into Perrhaebia. And at this time returned the heralds who had been sent for earth and water, some empty-handed, and others bringing earth and water with them.

132 Now these are the tribes that gave earth and water: the Thessalians, the Dolopians, the Enianians, the Perrhaebians, the Locrians, the Magnetians, the Malians, the Achaeans of Phthiotis, the Thebans, and all the Boeotians saving only those of Thespieae and Plataea. And against these the Greeks that were warring against the Persians swore an oath, and this was their oath: 'From all the Greeks who delivered themselves-up to the Persians, not of necessity but when all was yet well with them, will we exact a tithe for the god at Delphi.' Thus did the Greeks swear.

133 Ἐς δὲ Ἀθήνας καὶ Σπάρτην οὐκ ἀπέπεμψε Ξέρξης ἐπὶ γῆς αἴτησιν κήρυκας τῶνδε ἕνεκα· πρότερον Δαρείου πέμψαντος ἐπ' αὐτὸ τοῦτο οἱ μὲν αὐτῶν τοὺς αἰτοῦντας ἔς τὸ βάραθρον, οἱ δ' ἔς φρέαρ ἐμβαλόντες ἐκέλευον γῆν
 2 τε καὶ ὕδωρ ἐκ τούτων φέρειν παρὰ βασιλέα. τούτων μὲν ἕνεκα οὐκ ἔπεμψε Ξέρξης τοὺς αἰτήσοντας. ὃ τι δὲ τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις ταῦτα ποιήσασι τοὺς κήρυκας συνήνεγκεν ἀνεθέλητον γενέσθαι, οὐκ ἔχω εἰπεῖν, πλὴν ὅτι αὐτῶν ἡ χώρα καὶ ἡ πόλις ἐδηλώθη, ἀλλὰ τοῦτο οὐ διὰ
 134 ταύτην τὴν αἰτίαν δοκῶ γενέσθαι. τοῖς δὲ οὖν Λακεδαιμονίοις μῆνις κατέσκηψε Ταλθυβίου τοῦ Ἀγαμέμνονος κήρυκος. ἐν γὰρ Σπάρτῃ ἐστὶ Ταλθυβίου ἱερόν, εἰσὶ δὲ καὶ ἀπόγονοι Ταλθυβιάδαι καλούμενοι, οἷς αἰ
 2 κηρυκεῖται αἱ ἐκ Σπάρτης πᾶσαι γέρας δέδονται. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα τοῖς Σπαρτιάταις καλλιεργῆσαι θυομένοις οὐκ

ἐδύνατο. τοῦτο δ' ἐπὶ χρόνον συχνὸν ἦν αὐτοῖς. ἀχθο-
μένων δὲ καὶ συμφορᾷ χρωμένων Λακεδαιμονίων, ἀλίας
τε πολλάκις συλλεγομένης καὶ κήρυγμα τοιόνδε ποιου-
μένων, εἴ τις βούλοιο Λακεδαιμονίων πρὸ τῆς Σπάρτης
ἀποθνήσκειν, Σπερχίας τε ὁ Ἀνηρίστου καὶ Βούλις ὁ
Νικόλου, ἄνδρες Σπαρτιᾶται φύσει τε γεγονότες εὖ καὶ
χρήμασιν ἀνήκοντες ἐς τὰ πρῶτα, ἐθελονταὶ ὑπέδυσαν
ποινὴν τίσειν Ξέρξῃ τῶν Δαρείου κηρύκων τῶν ἐν
Σπάρτῃ ἀπολομένων. οὕτω Σπαρτιᾶται τούτους ὥς 3
ἀποθανουμένους ἐς Μήδους ἀπέπεμψαν.

And the courage of these men is a matter for great 135
marvel, as also are their words. For as they were
going on their way to Susa they presented themselves
before Hydarnes. Now Hydarnes was a Persian, and
ruler of all those that inhabited the sea-coast of Asia.
And he received them hospitably, and made them a
feast; and as they ate he spake unto them and said :
'Men of Sparta, why do ye put away from yourselves
the king's friendship? For when ye behold me and
my good fortune, then may ye know how that he is
wont to hold brave men in honour. And if ye would
but surrender yourselves to him, each of you would he
appoint to be governor over some part of Greece, for
he knoweth you to be brave men.' But they answered
him and said : 'Hydarnes, the counsel that thou givest
us is one-sided. For thou knowest but half of the
matter, seeing that thou hast experienced a slave's life
only, but of liberty thou knowest naught, and therefore
canst not tell whether it be sweet or no. Now if thou
hadst tasted liberty thou wouldst have counselled us to
fight for it not with spears only but with battle-axes
beside.'

Ταῦτα μὲν Ὑδάρνη ἡμείψαντο· ἐντεῦθεν δὲ ὥς ἀνέ- 136
βησαν ἐς Σοῦσα καὶ βασιλεῖ ἐς ὅψιν ἦλθον, πρῶτα μὲν
τῶν δορυφόρων κελεύόντων καὶ ἀνάγκην αὐτοῖς προσ-
φερόντων προσκυνεῖν βασιλέα προσπίπτοντας οὐκ

ἔφασαν ὠθούμενοι πρὸς αὐτῶν ἐπὶ κεφαλὴν ποιήσιν ταῦτα οὐδαμῶς· οὔτε γὰρ σφίσιν ἐν νόμῳ εἶναι ἄνθρωπον προσκυνεῖν οὔτε κατὰ ταῦτα ἤκειν· ὥς δὲ ἀπεμαχέσαντο τοῦτο, δεύτερα λέγουσι τάδε καὶ λόγου τοιοῦδε ἐχόμενα·
 2 “⁷Ω βασιλεῦ Μήδων, ἔπεμψαν ἡμᾶς Λακεδαιμόνιοι ἀντὶ τῶν ἐν Σπάρτῃ ἀπολομένων κηρύκων ποινὴν ἐκείνων τίσοντας”, λέγουσι δὲ αὐτοῖς ταῦτα Ξέρξης ὑπὸ μεγαλοφροσύνης οὐκ ἔφη ὅμοιος ἔσεσθαι Λακεδαιμονίοις· ἐκείνους μὲν γὰρ συγχέαι τὰ πάντων ἀνθρώπων νόμιμα ἀποκτείναντας κήρυκας, αὐτὸς δὲ ἅ ἐκείνοις ἐπιπλήσσει ταῦτα οὐ ποιήσιν, οὐδὲ ἀνταποκτείνας ἐκείνους ἀπολύσειν Λακεδαιμονίους τῆς αἰτίας.

137 So when the Spartans had done this, the wrath of Talthybius was bated awhile, though Sperchias and Bulis came back living to Sparta. Nevertheless it broke out again later, during the Peloponnesian war; and this the Spartans themselves certify. And in my opinion all this was plainly the work of God. For that the wrath of Talthybius should fall on heralds, and should not cease until it was appeased, so much is but just; but that it should fall on the sons of those very men who gave themselves up to the king to appease it—on Nicolaus, to wit, the son of Bulis, and Aneristus the son of Sperchias who also carried off fishermen from Tiryns when cruising in a well-manned merchant boat—this indeed I deem to have been God's doing. For it came to pass that these two men the Lacedaemonians sent to Asia as ambassadors, and they were betrayed by Sitalces, the son of Teres, king of Thrace, and by Nymphodorus, the son of Pythes, a native of Abdera; and they were captured at Bisanthe on the Hellespont and taken to Athens, and the Athenians put them to death, and with them died Aristetas, the son of Adeimantus the Corinthian.

But all this took place many years after Xerxes' expedition against Greece, so I now must turn back to
 138 the main matter of my tale. Now this expedition,

though in the first place directed against Athens, threatened the whole of Greece. And the Greeks had known this for some while, but they did not all hold the same opinion about it. For those that had given earth and water took courage and were of a good heart, for they thought that the Persians would do them no harm; but those that had not given it were sore afraid. For all the Greek ships together were not enough to do battle with the enemy, and it was plain that the greater part of the Greeks would take no part in the war, but were well disposed toward the Persians.

Ἐνταῦθα ἀνάγκη ἐξείργομαι γνώμην ἀποδείξασθαι 139
ἐπίφθορον μὲν πρὸς τῶν πλεόνων ἀνθρώπων, ὅμως δέ,
ἥ γέ μοι φαίνεται εἶναι ἀληθές, οὐκ ἐπισχήσω. εἰ 2
Ἀθηναῖοι κατορρωδήσαντες τὸν ἐπίοντα κίνδυνον ἐξέλι-
πον τὴν σφετέραν, ἥ καὶ μὴ ἐκλιπόντες ἀλλὰ μέιναντες
ἔδοσαν σφᾶς αὐτοὺς Ξέρξῃ, κατὰ τὴν θάλασσαν οὐδένας
ἂν ἐπειρῶντο ἀντιοῦμενοι βασιλεῖ. εἰ τοίνυν κατὰ τὴν
θάλασσαν μηδεὶς ἠντιοῦτο Ξέρξῃ, κατὰ γε ἂν τὴν
ἡπειρον τοιάδε ἐγίγνετο. εἰ καὶ πολλοὶ τειχῶν χιτῶνες 3
ἦσαν ἐληλαμένοι διὰ τοῦ Ἰσθμοῦ Πελοποννησίοις,
προδοθέντες ἂν Λακεδαιμόνιοι ὑπὸ τῶν συμμάχων οὐχ
ἐκόντων ἀλλ' ὑπ' ἀνάγκης, κατὰ πόλεις ἀλικομένων
ὑπὸ τοῦ ναυτικοῦ στρατοῦ τοῦ βαρβάρου, ἐμονώθησαν,
μονωθέντες δὲ ἂν καὶ ἀποδειξάμενοι ἔργα μεγάλα
ἀπέθανον γενναίως. ἥ ταῦτα ἂν ἔπαθον, ἥ πρὸ τοῦ 4
ὀρῶντες ἂν καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους Ἑλληνας μηδίζοντας
ὁμολογία ἂν ἐχρήσαντο πρὸς Ξέρξην. καὶ οὕτως ἂν
ἐπ' ἀμφοτέρω ἡ Ἑλλὰς ἐγίγνετο ὑπὸ Πέρσαις. τὴν
γὰρ ὠφέλειαν τὴν τῶν τειχῶν τῶν διὰ τοῦ Ἰσθμοῦ
ἐληλαμένων οὐ δύναμαι πυθέσθαι ἥτις ἂν ἦν βασιλέως
ἐπικρατοῦντος τῆς θαλάσσης. νῦν δὲ Ἀθηναίους ἂν 5
τις λέγων ὁωτήρας γενέσθαι τῆς Ἑλλάδος οὐκ ἂν

ἀμαρτάνοι τοῦ ἀληθοῦς· οὗτοι γὰρ ἐπὶ ὁπότερα τῶν πραγ-
μάτων ἐτράποντο, ταῦτα ῥέψειν ἔμελλεν. ἐλόμενοι δὲ τὴν
Ἑλλάδα περιεῖναι ἐλευθέραν, τοῦτο τὸ Ἑλληνικὸν πᾶν
τὸ λοιπόν, ὅσον μὴ ἐμήδισεν, αὐτοὶ αὖτοι ἦσαν οἱ ἐπεγεί-
6 ραντες καὶ βασιλέα μετὰ γε θεοὺς ἀνωσάμενοι. οὐδὲ
τούτους χρηστήρια φοβερὰ ἐλθόντα ἐκ Δελφῶν καὶ ἐς
δεῖμα βαλόντα ἔπεισεν ἐκλιπεῖν τὴν Ἑλλάδα, ἀλλὰ
καταμείναντες ἠνέσχοντο τὸν ἐπιόντα ἐπὶ τὴν χώραν
δέξασθαι.

140 For the Athenians, being desirous to consult the
oracle, had sent envoys to Delphi. And when they
had performed the usual rites before the shrine, they
took their seats in the sanctuary. Then the Pythia,
whose name was Aristonicē, prophesied thus:—

‘Up, fools, and quit your country! Go, madmen, get
you down,

And forsake yon lofty citadel that crowns your circling
town!

For both foot and hand are smitten; and from hairy
scalp to sole

The frame is in corruption; no part of it is whole.

Nigh draws the hour of ruin; all red with fire and
sword

Speeds, on the Syrian chariot, the Fury of the Lord.

Then many a wall shall tremble, and many a tower be
ta’en

And the flames shall lick the shattered wreck of many
a lordly fane.

For their knees now quake for terror, and the sweat is
on their brow;

And down from roof and rafter ye may see the black
blood flow.

Not here ’tis yours to linger; go, get you from the
shrine,

And brood upon your sorrows. For the Lord hath
shown his sign.’

141 When the Athenian envoys heard this they were sore
troubled. Then Timon the son of Androbulus, one of

the foremost men of Delphi, seeing how they were cast down by the ill words of the oracle, bade them take olive branches in their hands and go again as suppliants to consult the oracle. The Athenians therefore did as he bade, and addressed the god thus: 'Vouchsafe us, O Lord, some better prophecy concerning our country, and acknowledge our prayers; else will we not depart from the sanctuary but stay here until we die.' When they had thus spoken the priestess gave them this second answer:—

'Full sore hath Pallas pleaded, full oft hath told her tale;

But Zeus on high hath spoken, and she shall not prevail.

Hark to the words I utter, though stern they be as steel:

Not till the land of Cecrops lies 'neath the Persian heel,

Not till the plain be conquered from Cithaeron to the sea

Shall Zeus give ear to Pallas' prayer and make this thing to be:

To her and hers is granted the wooden wall's defence;

Yet tarry not his coming, but get you out from thence.

Wait not his host of footmen, wait not his crested knight;

For there comes a day when ye shall stay and show the Persian fight.

So shall Salamis the Holy slay many a woman's son,

Or when the seed be scattered, or when the harvest's done.'

Now this answer seemed to be more kindly than the 142
other; therefore they wrote it down and bore it back to Athens. But when the envoys returned again and read it out to the people, the opinion of the people was divided, for there were two minds among them, one part of the elders saying that the god signified that the citadel would survive, for the citadel of Athens had been of old fenced about with a palisade, and they thought that this was the wooden wall of which the oracle spake; but another part said that the god signi-

fied the ships, and advised that they should be made ready and all else put aside. Yet those who said that the ships were the wooden wall were perplexed by the last lines which had been spoken by the Pythia, for the interpreters said that these words signified that they should be beaten round about Salamis if they joined battle at sea.

- 143 Ἦν δέ τις τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἀνὴρ ἐς πρῶτους νεωστὶ παριών, ᾧ ὄνομα μὲν ἦν Θεμιστοκλῆς, παῖς δὲ Νεοκλέους ἐκαλεῖτο. οὗτος ἀνὴρ οὐκ ἔφη πᾶν ὀρθῶς τοὺς χρησμολόγους συμβάλλεσθαι, λέγων τοιάδε, εἰ ἐς Ἀθηναίους εἶχε τὸ ἔπος εἰρημένον ὄντως, οὐκ ἂν οὕτω δοκεῖν ἡπίως χρησθῆναι, ἀλλὰ ᾧδε “ᾠ σχετλία Σαλαμῖς”, ἀντὶ τοῦ “ᾠ θεία Σαλαμῖς”, εἶπερ γε ἔμελλον οἱ οἰκήτορες ὑπὲρ 2 αὐτῆς τελευτήσῃν. ἀλλὰ γὰρ ἐς τοὺς πολεμίους τῷ θεῷ εἰρήσθαι τὸ χρηστήριον συλλαμβάνοντι κατὰ τὸ ὀρθόν, ἀλλ’ οὐκ ἐς Ἀθηναίους. παρασκευάζεσθαι οὖν αὐτοὺς ὡς ναυμαχήσοντας συνεβούλευεν, ὡς τούτου 3 ὄντος τοῦ ξυλίνου τείχους. ταύτῃ Θεμιστοκλέους ἀποφαινομένου Ἀθηναῖοι ταῦτα σφίσιν ἔγνωσαν αἰρετώτερα εἶναι μᾶλλον ἢ τὰ τῶν χρησμολόγων, οἳ οὐκ εἶων ναυμαχίαν ἀρτεῖσθαι, τὸ δὲ σύμπαν εἰπεῖν οὐδὲ χεῖρας ἀνταίρεσθαι, ἀλλὰ ἐκλιπόντας χώραν τὴν Ἀττικὴν ἄλλην τινὰ οἰκίζειν.

- 144 Now before this Themistocles had given other useful counsel which had prevailed with the people. For when the Athenians, having their treasury enriched by the mines which were at Laureium, proposed to distribute the money to the citizens, giving to every man ten drachmae, then did Themistocles persuade them to forgo this plan and to build with the money two hundred ships for the war against Aegina; and hereby was Greece saved, for through this war the Athenians became mighty by sea. The ships indeed were not used for that purpose for which they were designed,

and thus did they remain to be profitable to Greece. And in addition to these vessels which had been made ready before the war, the Athenians built others also. And they determined in an assembly held after the answer of the oracle, to follow the advice of the god and meet the barbarian invader with their whole force on board ship, and with such Greeks as were willing to join them. Such was the result of the oracle.

And those of the Greeks who were zealous of the Grecian cause assembled themselves together and exchanged pledges and took counsel among themselves. They determined that the first thing needful was to heal their strife and no more to war one against another; for there were many wars at that time, but the worst of all was the war between Athens and Aegina. And when they learned that Xerxes and all his host were come to Sardis, they agreed to send men to discover the state of the king's affairs and to send messengers also to Argos asking her to make common cause with them against the Persian. And they determined also to send to Gelo the son of Deinomenes in Sicily, and to the men of Corcyra, bidding them help Greece, and also to Crete. For they hoped to make Greece as one country, and that all would take counsel and make a common plan, for the danger threatened all Greece alike. Now the power of Gelo was said to be very great, much greater than the power of any of the Greeks.

Ὡς δὲ ταῦτα ἔδοξε, καταλυσάμενοι τὰς ἔχθρας πρῶτα 146
 μὲν κατασκόπους πέμπουσιν ἐς τὴν Ἀσίαν ἄνδρας τρεῖς.
 οἱ δὲ ἀφικόμενοί τε ἐς Σάρδεις καὶ καταμαθόντες τὴν
 βασιλέως στρατιάν, ὥς ἐπαῖστοι ἐγένοντο, βασανισθέν-
 τες ὑπὸ τῶν στρατηγῶν τοῦ πεζοῦ στρατοῦ ἀπήγοντο
 ὥς ἀπολούμενοι. καὶ τούτοις μὲν κατεκέκριτο θάνατος, 2
 Ξέρξης δὲ ὥς ἐπύθετο ταῦτα, μεμφθεὶς τῶν στρατηγῶν
 τὴν γνώμην πέμπει τινὰς τῶν δορυφόρων, ἐντειλάμενος,
 ἥν καταλάβωσι τοὺς κατασκόπους ζῶντας, ἄγειν παρ'
 ἑαυτόν. ὥς δὲ ἔτι περιόντας αὐτοὺς κατέλαβον καὶ 3
 ἤγαγον ἐς ὄψιν τὴν βασιλέως, τὸ ἐντεῦθεν πυθόμενος

ἐφ' οἷς ἦλθον, ἐκέλευσεν αὐτοὺς τοὺς δορυφόρους περι-
άγοντας ἐπιδείκνυσθαι πάντα τε τὸν περὶ τὸν στρατὸν καὶ
τὴν ἵππον, ἐπ' αὐτὰ θεώμενοι ὥσι πλήρεις,
ἀποπέμπειν ἐς ἣν ἂν αὐτοὶ ἐθέλωσι χώραν ἀσινεῖς.

- 147 ἐπιλέγων δὲ τὸν λόγον τόνδε ταῦτα ἐνετέλλετο, ὥς εἰ
μὲν ἀπώλοντο οἱ κατάσκοποι, οὐτ' ἂν τὰ ἑαυτοῦ πράγ-
ματα προεπύθοντο οἱ Ἕλληνες ὄντα λόγου μείζω, οὐτ'
ἂν τι τοὺς πολεμίους μέγα ἐσίναντο ἄνδρας τρεῖς
ἀπολέσαντες· νοστησάντων δὲ τούτων ἐς τὴν Ἑλλάδα
δοκεῖν ἔφη ἀκούσαντας τοὺς Ἕλληνας τὰ ἑαυτοῦ πράγ-
ματα πρὸ τοῦ στόλου τοῦ γιγνομένου παραδώσειν τὴν
ιδίαν ἐλευθερίαν, καὶ οὕτως οὐδὲ δεήσειν ἐπ' αὐτοὺς
2 στρατηλατοῦντας πράγματα ἔχειν. ἔοικε δὲ αὐτοῦ
αὕτη ἡ γνώμη τῇδε ἄλλῃ· ὦν γὰρ ἐν Ἀβύδῳ ὁ Ξέρξης
εἶδε πλοῖα ἐκ τοῦ Πόντου σιταγωγὰ διεκπλέοντα τὸν
Ἑλλήσποντον, ἐς τε Αἴγινα καὶ Πελοπόννησον κομι-
ζόμενα. οἱ μὲν δὴ πάρεδροι αὐτοῦ ὥς ἐπύθοντο πολέμια
εἶναι τὰ πλοῖα, ἔτοιμοι ἦσαν αἰρεῖν αὐτά, ἐσβλέποντες
3 ἐς τὸν βασιλέα ὁπότε παραγγελεῖ. ὁ δὲ Ξέρξης ἤρετο
αὐτοὺς ὅπῃ πλέοιεν· οἱ δὲ εἶπον· “Ἐς τοὺς σουὺς πολε-
μίους, ὧ δέσποτα, σίτον ἄγοντες.” ὁ δὲ ὑπολαβὼν ἔφη·
“Οὐκ οὖν καὶ ἡμεῖς ἐκεῖ πλέομεν ἔνθα περ οὗτοι, τοῖς τε
ἄλλοις ἐξηρτυμένοι καὶ σίτῳ; τί δῆτα ἀδικοῦσιν οὗτοι
ἡμῖν σιτία παρακομίζοντες;”

- 148 And when the spies had thus seen all and had been
sent away, they returned again and came to Europe. But
the Greeks who were banded together against the Per-
sians dispatched messengers to Argos after the sending
of the spies; and this is the account that the Argives
give of what befell. They had learned from the very
first that the barbarian was coming up to make war
upon Greece, and inasmuch as they knew this and
expected the Greeks to send messengers to them asking

them for help against the Persian, they sent envoys to Delphi to inquire of the god what course they should take. (For a little while before six thousand of them had been slain by the Spartans and by Cleomenes the son of Anaxandridas, and for this reason they sent to Delphi.) And the Pythia answered them thus:—

‘Foes of the men around you, friends to the gods above,
In quietness and in watchfulness shall your salvation
prove.

So set ye then your lance in ward, that naught the head
come nigh;

For, guard ye well the head, withal the body shall not
die.’

Now this saying had the Pythia prophesied unto them some while before, but afterwards, when the messengers came to Argos, they were allowed to enter the council-house and deliver their message. And the Argives gave them this reply: ‘All that you ask of us will we do if we can make a thirty years’ truce with Sparta and have command over half the allied forces; for though we could justly demand the leadership of the whole army, we will be content with half.’

Thus then made they answer unto the envoys, though ¹⁴⁹ the oracle forbade them to make an alliance with Greeks. But notwithstanding that they feared the oracle, they were very desirous to make a thirty years’ truce so that their sons might grow to manhood in that space. And they knew that if there was no truce and if another such disaster befell them at the hands of the Persians they would be in the power of Sparta for evermore. And the Lacedaemonian envoys answered the council that concerning the truce they would refer the matter to the people, but concerning the command of the host they had been told what to say, to wit, that they had two kings and the Argives one, and that it manifestly could not be that they should deprive either of the Spartans of the leadership, but that there was nothing to prevent the Argive having one vote with them. The Argives say that they were not able to abide this presumption of the Spartans, but chose rather to be under the yoke of the barbarian than to yield a jot in this matter; and

therefore they ordered the messengers to depart out of the country before sundown else they would be treated as enemies.

- 150 Αὐτοὶ μὲν Ἀργεῖοι τοσαῦτα τούτων περί λέγουσιν· ἔστι δὲ ἄλλος λόγος λεγόμενος ἀνὰ τὴν Ἑλλάδα, ὡς Ξέρξης ἐπεμψε κήρυκα ἐς Ἄργος πρότερον ἢ περ
 2 ὀρμῆσαι στρατεύεσθαι ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα. ἐλθόντα δὲ τοῦτον λέγεται εἰπεῖν· “ Ἄνδρες Ἀργεῖοι, βασιλεὺς Ξέρξης τάδε ὑμῖν λέγει· Ἡμεῖς νομίζομεν Πέρσῃν εἶναι ἀφ’ οὗ ἡμεῖς γεγόναμεν, παῖδα Περσέως τοῦ Δανάης, γεγονότα ἐκ τῆς Κηφέως θυγατρὸς Ἀνδρομέδης. οὕτως ἂν οὖν εἶημεν ὑμέτεροι ἀπόγονοι. οὔτε οὖν ἡμᾶς εἰκὸς ἐπὶ τοὺς ἡμετέρους προγόνους ἐκστρατεύεσθαι, οὔτε ὑμᾶς ἄλλοις τιμωροῦντας ἡμῖν ἀντιξIOUS γίνεσθαι, ἀλλὰ παρ’ ὑμῖν αὐτοῖς ἡσυχίαν ἔχοντας καθῆσθαι. ἦν γὰρ ἔμοι γένηται κατὰ νοῦν, οὐδένας μεί-
 3 ζοντας ὑμῶν ἄξω.” ταῦτα ἀκούσαντας Ἀργεῖους λέγεται πρᾶγμα ποιήσασθαι, καὶ παραχρῆμα μὲν οὐδὲν ἐπαγγελλομένους μεταιτεῖν, ἐπεὶ δὲ αὐτοὺς παραλαμβάνειν τοὺς Ἕλληνας, οὕτω δὲ ἐπισταμένους ὅτι οὐ μεταδώσουσι τῆς ἀρχῆς Λακεδαιμόνιοι μεταιτεῖν, ἵνα ἐπὶ προφάσεως ἡσυχίαν ἄγωσιν.

- 151 And certain of the Greeks declare that with this agrees the following story: they say that many years after there happened to be at Susa, the city of Memnon, certain ambassadors sent from the Athenians upon some other matter, to wit Callias the son of Hipponicus and those that went up with him; and at the same time the Argives also sent envoys to Susa. And these came to Susa and asked of Artaxerxes the son of Xerxes whether he continued in the same friendship as in time past they had with Xerxes his father, or whether he held them to be his enemies; and King Artaxerxes replied that assuredly he continued therein, and that he held no city more friendly than Argos.

Whether in truth Xerxes sent a herald speaking thus 152
to Argos, and whether the Argive messengers in very truth went up to Susa and questioned Artaxerxes thus concerning his friendship, I cannot well say, nor do I hold any other opinion thereon save that of the Argives themselves. But this I know, that if all men were to bring together each man his own offence and were to lay them in one place with intent to exchange them each with his neighbour, then, having thoroughly examined the sins of his neighbour, each man would bear back his own again to the place from which he came. Therefore say I that the sin of the Argives was no whit worse than that of their neighbours. Nevertheless, that which men have told unto me, that must I tell; howbeit I do not give credence to all these words, neither herein nor as concerning the other things which are related in my book. Some say that it was the Argives who summoned in the Persians, being ill bestead in the war with the Lacedaemonians and wishing to suffer any other fate rather than that which was even now upon them.

Such are the tales concerning the Argives. Then 153
went to Sicily Syagrus from the Lacedaemonians and from the allies other messengers to confer with Gelo.

Summary of the rest of Chapter 153 and Chapters 154, 155, and 156.

This Gelo was a man of Gela and served well under Hipponicus the tyrant of Gela, under whom he rose to the rank of commander of all the horse; but when Hipponicus was killed before Hybla he seized the power, though nominally reigning on behalf of Euclides and Cleander, the children of Hipponicus. And he captured Syracuse and set over Gela his brother Hiero. He brought Syracuse to great prosperity, setting in it the inhabitants of Camarina and half the inhabitants of Gela and the nobles of Euboea and Megara in Sicily.

In this manner Gelo became a mighty tyrant; and at 157
this time there came to Syracuse the ambassadors from the Greeks, and going in before him they spake, saying: 'We are sent by the Lacedaemonians and their allies to petition thee to come against the barbarian. For thou knowest him that cometh against Greece and how the

Persian would bridge the Hellespont and bringing forth out of Asia all the army of the East would make war against Greece, saying, forsooth, that he is coming up against Athens only, but thinking in his heart to subdue the whole of Greece under him. But thou hast come to great power and hast no little share in the fate of Greece, being ruler of Sicily. Help therefore those who would free Greece and stand by them in their work; for the whole of Greece is gathered together, a mighty band, and we are ready to do battle with them that are coming against us. But if some among us act treacherously, and some be loath to give their aid, and if that part of the Greeks whose heart is set on the right be but a small part of the peoples, then is there danger that the whole of Greece be brought to ruin. Hope not that if the Persian should overcome us in battle and subdue us he will not come even as far as thee; make thyself ready while there is yet time, for to give us aid is indeed to thine own advantage. For be sure of this, that when a man hath taken good counsel in a matter, then is it wont for the most part to have good issue.'

158 Thus they spake, but Gelo was greatly wroth and said: 'Men of Greece, dare ye to come to me with proud words entreating me to go to your aid against the barbarian? When I desired aforetime that ye should join me against barbarians when there was war between me and the Carthaginians, charging you that ye should avenge the murder of Dorieus the son of Anaxandridas upon the men of Eggesta, and promising you mine aid to free the harbours wherefrom ye had much profit and advantage, then ye did not come up to help me nor to avenge the murder of Dorieus, and in so far as ye are concerned all these countries were yet under the yoke of the barbarian. But at this present when matters have prospered and gone well with me, but fate is turned into another course and ye are in jeopardy in my stead, then do ye bethink yourselves to call upon Gelo. Yet for all that I have received at your hands I will not return the like unto you, but I am ready to help you, providing on my part two hundred triremes, twenty thousand hoplites, two thousand cavalry, two thousand bowmen, two thousand slingers, and two thousand light-

armed men to run beside the horse ; and I will make provision of corn for the whole Greek army until we have made an end of the war. But upon this condition only will I make these promises : that I be general and leader of the Greeks against the barbarian ; on no other condition will I either come up myself or send others.'

Ταῦτα ἀκούσας οὔτε ἠνέσχετο ὁ Σύναγρος εἰπέ τε 159
τάδε· “Ἡ κε μέγ’ οἰμώξειεν ὁ Πελοπίδης Ἀγαμέμνων
πυθόμενος Σπαρτιάτας τὴν ἡγεμονίαν ἀφηρηῆσθαι ὑπὸ
Γέλωνός τε καὶ Συρακοσίων. ἀλλὰ τούτου μὲν τοῦ
λόγου μηκέτι μνησθῆς, ὅπως τὴν ἡγεμονίαν σοι παρα-
δώσομεν. ἀλλ’ εἰ μὲν βούλει βοηθεῖν τῇ Ἑλλάδι, ἴσθι
ἀρξόμενος ὑπὸ Λακεδαιμονίων· εἰ δ’ ἄρα μὴ δικαιοῖς
ἄρχεσθαι, σὺ δὲ μὴ βοηθεῖν.” πρὸς ταῦτα ὁ Γέλων, 160
ἐπειδὴ ἑώρα ἀπεστραμμένους τοὺς λόγους τοῦ Σύναγρου,
τὸν τελευταῖον τόνδε ἐξέφαινε λόγον· “ὦ ξένε Σπαρ-
τιᾶτα, ὀνείδῃ κατιόντα ἀνθρώπῳ φιλεῖ ἐπανάγειν
τὸν θυμόν· σὺ μέντοι ἀποδειξάμενος ὑβρίσματα ἐν τῷ
λόγῳ οὗ με ἔπεισας ἀσχήμονα ἐν τῇ ἀμοιβῇ γενέσθαι.
ὅπου δὲ ὑμεῖς οὕτω περιέχεσθε τῆς ἡγεμονίας, εἰκὸς καὶ 2
ἐμὲ μᾶλλον ὑμῶν περιέχεσθαι, στρατιᾶς τε ὄντα πολλα-
πλασίας ἡγεμόνα καὶ νεῶν πολὺν πλεόνων· ἀλλ’ ἐπεὶ
ὑμῖν ὁ λόγος οὕτω προσάντης καθίσταται, ἡμεῖς τι
ὑπεῖξομεν τοῦ ἀρχαίου λόγου. εἰ τοῦ μὲν πεζοῦ ὑμεῖς
ἡγοῖσθε, τοῦ δὲ ναυτικοῦ ἐγώ· εἰ δὲ ὑμῖν ἡδονὴ τοῦ
κατὰ θάλασσαν ἡγεμονεύειν, τοῦ πεζοῦ ἐγὼ θέλω.
καὶ ἢ τούτοις ὑμᾶς χρεῶν ἐστὶν ἀρκεῖσθαι ἢ ἀπιέναι
συμμάχων τοιῶνδε ἐρήμους.”

These things did Gelo offer ; but the messenger of the 161
Athenians made answer before the Spartan could say
aught. And he spake saying : ‘ O King of the Syra-
cusans, I am come up from the land of Greece to beg an

army and not a captain. But thou sayest that thou wilt in no wise send a host except that thou thyself be the leader of all Greece, and for this thou art exceeding eager. Now when thou didst ask to lead the whole army of the Greeks, we men of Athens were content to hold our peace, putting our trust in the Spartan that he would suffice to make answer for us both. But now when thou art denied the leadership of the whole army thou desirest to be made captain of the ships. Thus then is it, O King: though the Spartans suffer thee herein, yet will we not suffer thee, for the naval command is ours, if the Lacedaemonians themselves do not wish for it. If therefore it pleaseth these to lead the ships we will not resist them, but we will not yield the command of the fleet to any other person. For in vain should we, being Athenians, have become rulers of the sea if we gave over our power unto the Syracusans—we who are the most ancient people of Greece, being indeed of all the Greeks the only people who dwelt here aforetime. Is it not written in the book of Homer that the best of all the captains that came to Ilium was even a man of Athens? Wherefore do we not vaunt ourselves without a cause.'

- 162 'Ημείβετο Γέλων τοῖσδε· “Ξένε Ἀθηναῖε, ὑμεῖς
 εἰσέκατε τοὺς μὲν ἄρχοντας ἔχειν, τοὺς δὲ ἀρξομένους
 οὐχ ἔχειν. ἐπεὶ τοίνυν οὐδὲν ὑφιέντες ἔχειν τὸ πᾶν
 ἐθέλετε, οὐκ ἂν φθάνοιτε τὴν ταχίστην ὀπίσω ἀπαλ-
 λασσόμενοι καὶ ἀγγέλλοντες τῇ Ἑλλάδι ὅτι ἐκ τοῦ
 2 ἐνιαυτοῦ τὸ ἔαρ αὐτῇ ἐξήρηται.” οὗτος δὲ ὁ νοῦς τοῦ
 ῥήματος, ὃ ἐθέλει λέγειν· δηλα γὰρ ὡς ἐν τῷ ἐνιαυτῷ
 ἐστι τὸ ἔαρ δοκιμώτατον, τῆς δὲ τῶν Ἑλλήνων στρατιᾶς
 τὴν ἑαυτοῦ στρατιάν. στερισκομένην οὖν τὴν Ἑλλάδα
 τῆς ἑαυτοῦ συμμαχίας ἤκαζεν ὡς εἰ τὸ ἔαρ ἐκ τοῦ
 ἐνιαυτοῦ ἐξηρημένον εἴη.

- 163 Now when the messengers of the Greeks had thus spoken with Gelo they departed in their ships. But Gelo was afraid lest the men of Greece should not prevail against the barbarians. And because he thought it

a terrible thing and in no wise to be borne that he, being tyrant of Sicily, should go to the Peloponnese and there be subject to the Spartans, he took new counsels; for when he learned that the Persians had crossed the Hellespont he sent to Delphi Cadmus, the son of Scythes, a native of Cos, with three penteconters and much money and many friendly words withal. And he commanded him saying: 'Go watch how the battle fares, and if the barbarians prevail, then give them the money, and also earth and water as a token for all the lands over which I rule, but if the Greeks conquer their enemies, then bring the money back.'

‘Ο δὲ Κάδμος οὗτος πρότερον τούτων παραδεξάμενος 164
παρὰ πατρὸς τυραννίδα Κῶων εὖ βεβηκυῖαν, ἐκὼν τε
εἶναι καὶ δεινοῦ ἐπιόντος οὐδενὸς ἀλλ’ ὑπὸ δικαιοσύνης
ἐς μέσον Κῶοις καταθεὶς τὴν ἀρχὴν ᾤχετο ἐς Σικελίαν,
ἐνθα παρὰ Σαμίων ἔσχε τε καὶ κατώκησε πόλιν Ζάγκλην
τὴν ἐς Μεσσήνην μεταβαλοῦσαν τὸ ὄνομα. τοῦτον δὲ
ὁ Γέλων τὸν Κάδμον καὶ τοιούτῳ τρόπῳ ἀφικόμενον διὰ
δικαιοσύνην, ἣν τούτῳ αὐτὸς ἄλλην συνήδει οὔσαν,
ἔπεμπε· ὃς ἐπὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις δικαίοις τοῖς ἐξ ἑαυτοῦ
εἰργασμένοις καὶ τότε οὐκ ἐλάχιστον τούτων ἐλίπετο·
κρατήσας γὰρ μεγάλων χρημάτων ὧν αὐτῷ Γέλων ἐπε-
τράπετο, παρὸν κατασχέσθαι οὐκ ἠθέλησεν, ἀλλ’ ἐπεὶ
οἱ Ἕλληνες ἐπεκράτησαν τῇ ναυμαχίᾳ καὶ Ξέρξης
ᾤχετο ἀπελαύνων, καὶ δὴ καὶ ἐκεῖνος ἀφίκετο ἐς τὴν
Σικελίαν ἅπαντα τὰ χρήματα ἄγων.

They who dwell in Sicily say this also: that Gelo 165
would have helped the Greeks and been subject to the
Spartans, had not Terillus, the son of Crinippus, king of
Himera, who had been driven out by Thero, son of
Aenesidemus, king of Agrigentum, restrained him. For
at this season Terillus led three hundred thousand men
of Phoenicia, Libya, Iberia, Liguria, Helisycia, Sardinia,
and Corsica into Sicily with Hamilcar as their leader,

the son of Hanno, the king of Carthage. And Terillus prevailed upon Hamilcar on account of their friendship and also through the zeal of Anaxilaus, son of Cretines and tyrant of Rhegium; for Anaxilaus gave his sons unto Hamilcar as hostages, and Hamilcar was constrained to march against Sicily. Now in this it was his father-in-law that Anaxilaus served, for he had taken Cydippe the daughter of Terillus to wife. And forasmuch as Gelo had no power to help the Greeks, he sent the money to Delphi.

166 Πρὸς δὲ καὶ τὰδε λέγουσιν, ὡς συνέβη τῆς αὐτῆς ἡμέρας ἐν τε τῇ Σικελίᾳ Γέλωνα καὶ Θήρωνα νικᾶν Ἀμίλκαν τὸν Καρχηδόνιον καὶ ἐν Σαλαμῖνι τοὺς Ἑλλήνας τὸν Πέρσην. τὸν δὲ Ἀμίλκαν, Καρχηδόνιον ὄντα πρὸς πατρός, μητρόθεν δὲ Συρακόσιον, βασιλεύσαντά τε κατ' ἀνδραγαθίαν Καρχηδονίων, ὡς ἡ συμβολή τε ἐγίγνετο καὶ ὡς ἡσᾶτο τῇ μάχῃ, ἀφανισθῆναι πυνθάνομαι· οὔτε γὰρ ζῶντα οὔτε ἀποθανόντα φανῆναι οὐδαμοῦ γῆς· τὸ πᾶν γὰρ ἐπεξελθεῖν διζήμενον Γέλωνα.

167 ἔστι δὲ ὑπ' αὐτῶν Καρχηδονίων ὃδε λόγος λεγόμενος, εἰκότι χρωμένων, ὡς οἱ μὲν βάρβαροι τοῖς Ἑλλήσιν ἐν τῇ Σικελίᾳ ἐμάχοντο ἐξ ἑω ἀρξάμενοι μέχρι δαίλης ὀψίας (ἐπὶ τοσοῦτο γὰρ λέγεται ἐλκύσαι τὴν σύστασιν), ὁ δὲ Ἀμίλκας ἐν τούτῳ τῷ χρόνῳ μένων ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ ἐθύετο καὶ ἐκαλλιερεῖτο ἐπὶ πυρᾷς μεγάλης σώματα ὅλα καθαγίζων, ἰδὼν δὲ τροπὴν τῶν ἑαυτοῦ γιγνομένην, ὡς ἔτυχεν ἐπισπένδων τοῖς ἱεροῖς ἔωσεν ἑαυτὸν εἰς τὸ πῦρ· οὕτω δὲ κατακαυθέντα ἀφανισθῆναι. ἀφανισθέντι δὲ Ἀμίλκᾳ τρόπῳ εἴτε τοιούτῳ ὡς Φοίνικες λέγουσιν, εἴτε ἐτέρῳ ὡς Καρχηδόνιοι καὶ Συρακόσιοι, τοῦτο μὲν θύουσι, τοῦτο δὲ μνήματα ἐποίησαν ἐν πάσαις ταῖς πόλεσι τῶν ἀποικίδων, ἐν αὐτῇ τε μέγιστον Καρχηδόνι. τὰ μὲν ἀπὸ Σικελίας τοσαῦτα.

Now the men of Corcyra made answer unto the 168 messengers and did thus—for the men who had come to Sicily came also to them for help, speaking the same words which they spake unto Gelo. And the men of Corcyra straightway promised their aid, saying: 'The destruction of Greece is not a thing lightly to be scorned by us, for if Greece fall we also shall be brought into subjection upon the morrow of that day. Therefore must we succour her with all our might.' Thus answered they with smooth words, but when the time was come that they should send help, they were of a different mind. Nevertheless they filled sixty ships with men, and when they had at last put out to sea they reached the Peloponnese and anchored their ships off Pylos and Taenarum in the land of the Lacedaemonians. And they also watched the war, which way it should turn out; for they had no hopes that the Greeks would prevail, but thought that the Persians would win a mighty battle and bring the whole of Greece into subjection. They therefore prepared this safeguard that they might have somewhat to say unto the Persians, speaking thus: 'O King, we have much power and more ships than any other people save only the Athenians; but when the Greeks came to us to ask our help we were unwilling to oppose thee or to cause thee any distress.' For they hoped that with these words they would win for themselves better treatment than the others, which I think would indeed have come to pass. And they devised an excuse for the Greeks also, and this they afterwards used. For when the Greeks blamed them because they had not brought them help, they said that, although they had manned sixty triremes, the Etesian winds had prevented them from sailing round Cape Malea, and thus it was that they had not come to Salamis, and it was through no cowardice on their part that they had not fought in the battle. With these words they softened the wrath of the Greeks.

Now when the Greeks who had been appointed for 169 the purpose came to them, the Cretans did after this wise. They sent messengers to Delphi in the name of their state to ask the god if it was good for them to help the Greeks. And the Pythia made answer, saying: 'O

fools, do ye not still complain of all those things which Minos visited upon you when ye brought help to Menelaus? Verily he was exceeding wroth because when he was slain in Camicus, ye took no vengeance upon those that had slain him; but when a woman of Sparta was carried off from Greece by a barbarian, then ye were forward to take vengeance upon Troy.' And when these tidings were brought to the Cretans they denied all help to the Greeks.

Chapters 170, 171.

Here follows a digression, partly legendary, partly historical, which explains the reference of the Pythia.

- 172 The Thessalians took up the cause of the Persians not willingly but of necessity. For they declared that the schemes of the Aleuadae were evil in their sight. And when they learned that the Persians were about to cross over into Europe, straightway they sent messengers to the Isthmus. Now in the Isthmus were gathered together the chief men of all the cities which were on the side of Greece. And the messengers of the Thessalians came to these and spake, saying, 'Men of Greece, ye must guard the pass of Olympus, that Thessaly and all the land of Greece may be safe from the war. Now therefore we are ready to guard it with you, but ye must send a large army also. And know well that if ye send it not we shall come to an agreement with the Persians, for it is shameful that we, being exposed thus before all Greece, should be destroyed alone in your cause. If, however, ye are not willing to help us, ye cannot compel us, for there is no force so strong as weakness, and we shall strive to secure our own safety.' Thus spake the Thessalians.

- 173 Οἱ δὲ Ἕλληνες πρὸς ταῦτα ἐβουλεύσαντο ἐς Θεσσαλίαν πέμπειν κατὰ θάλασσαν πεζὸν στρατὸν φυλάξοντα τὴν ἐσβολήν. ὥς δὲ συνελέχθη ὁ στρατός, ἔπλει δι' Εὐρίπου. ἀφικόμενος δὲ τῆς Ἀχαιίας ἐς Ἄλουν, ἀποβὰς ἐπορεύετο ἐς Θεσσαλίαν, τὰς ναῦς αὐτοῦ καταλιπών, καὶ ἀφίκετο ἐς τὰ Τέμπεη ἐς τὴν ἐσβολὴν ἥπερ

ἀπὸ Μακεδονίας τῆς κάτω ἐς Θεσσαλίαν φέρει παρὰ Πηνειὸν ποταμόν, μεταξὺ δὲ Ὀλύμπου τε ὄρους ὄντα καὶ τῆς Ὀσσης. ἐνταῦθα ἐστρατοπεδεύοντο τῶν Ἑλ-² λήνων κατὰ μυρίους ὀπλίτας συλλεγόντες, καὶ προσῆν αὐτοῖς ἡ Θεσσαλῶν ἵππος. ἐστρατήγει δὲ Λακεδαιμονίων μὲν Εὐαίνετος ὁ Καρήνου ἐκ τῶν πολεμάρχων ἡρημένος γένους μέντοι ὦν οὐ τοῦ βασιλείου, Ἀθηναίων δὲ Θεμιστοκλῆς ὁ Νεοκλέους. ἔμειναν δὲ ὀλίγας ἡμέρας³ ἐνταῦθα· ἀφικόμενοι γὰρ ἄγγελοι παρὰ Ἀλεξάνδρου τοῦ Ἀμύντου ἀνδρὸς Μακεδόνος συνεβούλευον αὐτοῖς ἀπαλλάσσεσθαι μηδὲ μένοντας ἐν τῇ ἐσβολῇ καταπατηθῆναι ὑπὸ τοῦ στρατοῦ τοῦ ἐπιόντος, σημαίνοντες τὸ πλήθος τε τῆς στρατιᾶς καὶ τὰς ναῦς. ὥς δὲ οὗτοι ταῦτα συνεβούλευον αὐτοῖς (χρηστὰ γὰρ ἐδόκουν συμβουλεύειν, καὶ εὖνους ἐφαίνετο ὦν ὁ Μακεδών), ἐπέιθοντο. δοκεῖν δέ μοι, ὀρρωδία ἦν τὸ πείθον, ὥς ἐπίθοντο καὶ⁴ ἄλλην οὖσαν ἐσβολὴν ἐς Θεσσαλοὺς κατὰ τὴν ἄνω Μακεδονίαν διὰ Περραιβῶν κατὰ Γόννον πόλιν, ἧπερ δὴ καὶ ἐσέβαλεν ἡ στρατιὰ ἡ Ξέρξου. καταβάντες δὲ οἱ Ἕλληνες ἐπὶ τὰς ναῦς ὀπίσω ἐπορεύοντο ἐς τὸν Ἰσθμόν. αὕτη ἐγένετο ἡ ἐς Θεσσαλίαν στρατιά,¹⁷⁴ βασιλέως τε μέλλοντος διαβαίνειν ἐς τὴν Εὐρώπην ἐκ τῆς Ἀσίας καὶ ὄντος ἤδη ἐν Ἀβύδῳ. Θεσσαλοὶ δὲ ἐρημωθέντες συμμάχων οὕτω δὴ ἐμήδισαν προθύμως οὐδ' ἔτι ἐνδοιαστῶς, ὥστε ἐν τοῖς πράγμασιν ἐφαίνοντο βασιλεῖ ἄνδρες ὄντες χρησιμώτατοι.

But when the Greeks reached the Isthmus they took¹⁷⁵ counsel together concerning the words of Alexander, in what country they should resist the enemy and where they should make their stand. And the opinion prevailed among them that they should guard the pass of Thermopylae; for this pass was far narrower than the

pass in Thessaly, and nearer to their home. And of the path that brought capture upon those who were taken in Thermopylae they knew not until they came thither and it was showed them by the Trachinians. Thus therefore they took counsel to hold the pass lest by any means the barbarian might set foot in Greece thereby; and at the same time they were resolved that the fleet should sail to Artemisium in the land of Histiaeotis (for Thermopylae and Artemisium are near to each other); so that each might learn how it fared with the other in the war.

- 176 Now the nature of the two places is on this wise. First will I speak concerning Artemisium. After the open sea of Thrace the water narrows down into a strait running betwixt the island of Sciathus and the mainland of Magnesia. And next after the narrows of Eubœa is the shore of Artemisium, and on it the temple of Artemis. The pass through Trachis into Greece is in its most narrow part about fifty feet in breadth. Yet it is not below this town that is the narrowest portion of the pass, but on each side of Thermopylae it is yet narrower; and at Alpeni, which is on the hither side of it, there is space but for a single wagon to pass, and again beside the river Phoenix near the town of Anthela it is of the same width. And on the west of Thermopylae there is a mountain, exceeding steep and high, whereby no man can pass, and this lies toward Oeta; while on the east lie the sea and the marshland. And in this pass are those hot springs which the inhabitants call 'The Cauldrons', and beside them is an altar to Heracles. Now once a wall had been built across this way, and in time past there had been gates. And the Phocians had built this wall through fear of the Thesalians when the Thessalians came out of Thesprotia and invaded the land of Aeolia. And since the enemy endeavoured by all manner of means to reduce them, the Phocians turned the hot springs into the pass to wash away the road, for they would go to any extremity to prevent the Thessalians entering into their country. Thus then in time past had this old wall been built, but it had now for the most part fallen to pieces by reason of its age; but the Greeks determined to build it up

again, and there to withstand the enemy. And near the road is a village named Alpeni, from which the Greeks thought to obtain food.

This place therefore appeared to the Greeks to be ¹⁷⁷ suitable for their purpose. For considering carefully all that was like to befall, they perceived that the Persians would be able to make use neither of their great numbers nor of their cavalry. Here therefore they determined to await the enemy. And when they learned that the enemy had reached Pieria, they broke up their camp at the Isthmus and some marched on foot to Thermopylae while others went by sea to Artemisium.

So the Greeks went to their stations with all speed : ¹⁷⁸ but meanwhile the Delphians, being alarmed for their own safety and the safety of their country, made inquiry of the oracle ; and it bade them pray to the Winds, saying that they would be the most useful allies to the Greeks. And when they heard this answer, straightway the Delphians sent to announce the commands of the oracle to the Greeks who were fighting for their country ; and thus they laid up for themselves an everlasting store of gratitude from those who were in sore terror of the barbarians. And thereafter they set up an altar to the Winds in Thyia, where there is a plot of ground sacred to Thyia the daughter of Cephissus, from whom that region takes its name ; and there they made offerings to the Winds. And on account of this oracle the Delphians make sacrifice to the Winds even unto this day.

‘Ο δὲ ναυτικὸς Ξέρξου στρατὸς ὀρμώμενος ἐκ Θέρμης ¹⁷⁹ πόλεως παρέβαλε ναυσὶ ταῖς ἄριστα πλεούσαις δέκα εὐθὺ Σκιάθου, ἔνθα ἦσαν προφυλάσσουσαι νῆες τρεῖς Ἑλληνίδες, Τροιζηνία τε καὶ Αἰγιναία καὶ Ἀττική. προϋδόντες δὲ οὗτοι τὰς ναῦς τῶν βαρβάρων ἐς φυγὴν ὥρμησαν. τὴν μὲν δὴ Τροιζηνίαν, ἧς ἦρχε Πραξίνος, ¹⁸⁰ αὐτίκα αἰροῦσιν ἐπισπόμενοι οἱ βάρβαροι· καὶ ἔπειτα τῶν ἐπιβατῶν αὐτῆς τὸν καλλιστεύοντα ἀγαγόντες ἐπὶ τὴν πρῶραν τῆς νεὼς ἔσφαξαν, διαδέξιον ποιοῦμενοι ὃν

εἶλον τῶν Ἑλλήνων πρῶτον καὶ κάλλιστον. τῷ δὲ
 σφαγιασθέντι τούτῳ ὄνομα ἦν Λέων· τάχα δ' ἂν τι
 181 καὶ τοῦ ὀνόματος ἐπαύροιτο· ἡ δὲ Αἰγίναία, ἥς ἐτριη-
 ράρχει Ἀσωνίδης, καὶ τινα αὐτοῖς θόρυβον παρέσχε
 Πυθοῦ τοῦ Ἰσχενοῦ ἐπιβατεύοντος, ἀνδρὸς ἀρίστου γενο-
 μένου ταύτην τὴν ἡμέραν· ὃς ἐπειδὴ ἡ ναὺς ἠλίσκετο ἐς
 2 τοῦτο ἀντείχε μαχόμενος ἐς ὃ κατεκρεουργήθη ἅπας. ὥς
 δὲ πεσὼν οὐκ ἀπέθανεν ἀλλ' ἦν ἔμπνους, οἱ Πέρσαι, οἵπερ
 ἐπεβάτεον ἐπὶ τῶν νεῶν, δι' ἀρετὴν τὴν ἐκείνου περι-
 ποιῆσαι αὐτὸν περὶ πλείστου ἐποίησαντο, σμύρνη τε
 ἰώμενοι τὰ ἔλκη καὶ σινδόνος βυσσίνης τελαμῶσι
 3 καθελίσσοντες· καὶ αὐτόν, ὥς ὀπίσω ἀφίκοντο ἐς τὸ
 ἑαυτῶν στρατόπεδον, ἐπεδείκνυσαν ἐκπαγλούμενοι πάσῃ
 τῇ στρατιᾷ, περιέποντες εὖ· τοὺς δὲ ἄλλους οὖς ἔλαβον
 182 ἐν τῇ νηὶ ταύτῃ περιείπον ὥς ἀνδράποδα. αἱ μὲν δὴ
 δύο τῶν νεῶν οὕτως ἐχειρώθησαν· ἡ δὲ τρίτη, ἥς ἐτριη-
 ράρχει Φόρμος ἀνὴρ Ἀθηναῖος, φεύγουσα ἐξοκέλλει
 ἐς τὰς ἐκβολὰς τοῦ Πηνειοῦ, καὶ τοῦ μὲν σκάφους
 ἐκράτησαν οἱ βάρβαροι, τῶν δὲ ἀνδρῶν οὐ· ὥς γὰρ δὴ
 τάχιστα ἐπώκειλαν τὴν ναῦν οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι, ἀποθορόντες
 κατὰ Θεσσαλίαν πορευόμενοι ἐκομίσθησαν ἐς Ἀθήνας.

183 And all this the Greeks who were encamped at
 Artemisium learned by the fire-signals from Sciathus;
 and learning it they were sore afraid, and put out
 thence and came to Chalcis to guard the Euripus,
 leaving behind them scouts on the heights of Euboea.
 Now three of the ten Persian ships sailed to the sunken
 rock between Sciathus and Magnesia which is called
 'The Ant'. And there upon the sunken rock they
 placed a pillar of stone which they had brought for
 that purpose. And thereafter, their course being now
 clear, the barbarians set out from Therma with all their
 ships, eleven days after the king's departure from that
 place. But of the reef which lay right across their

course they had been warned by Pammon, a man of Scyros. And after sailing all day, the barbarians reached Sepias and the beach between the city of Casthanea and the promontory of Sepias.

Chapters 184-6.

Here follows a long description of the size and numbers of the Persian fleet and army. Herodotus puts the total force at over five million, which is made up in the following manner:—

Original fleet of 1,207 vessels with an average crew of 200	241,400
Each had an additional 30 Persian Marines	36,210
3,000 small ships with an average crew of 80	240,000
<hr/>	
Total of Xerxes' original fleet	517,610
Infantry (estimated earlier)	1,700,000
Cavalry (do. do.)	80,000
Arabian and Libyan camel-men and charioteers	20,000
<hr/>	
Total of Xerxes' original army (without commissariat)	1,800,000
Total of fleet and army	2,317,610
120 ships from Thracian Greeks with crews of 200	24,000
Infantry from Thracian tribes	300,000
<hr/>	
Total of pressed men on the march	324,000
Total of fleet, army, and pressed men	2,641,610
Commissariat, camp-followers, &c. (an approximation)	2,641,610
<hr/>	
Grand Total	5,283,220

Οὗτος μὲν δὴ τοῦ συνάπαντος τοῦ Ξέρξου στρατεύ- 187
ματος ἀριθμός, γυναικῶν δὲ σιτοποιῶν καὶ παλλακῶν
καὶ εὐνούχων οὐδεὶς ἂν εἴποι ἀκριβῆ ἀριθμόν· οὐδ' αὖ
ὑποζυγίων τε καὶ τῶν ἄλλων κτηνῶν τῶν ἀχθοφόρων
καὶ κυνῶν Ἰνδικῶν τῶν ἐπομένων, οὐδ' ἂν τούτων ὑπὸ
πλήθους οὐδεὶς ἂν εἴποι ἀριθμόν. ὥστε οὐδέν μοι θαῦμα
παρίσταται προδοῦναι τὰ ρεῖθρα τῶν ποταμῶν ἔστιν
ὦν, ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον ὅπως τὰ σιτία ἀντέχρησε θαῦμά μοι
μυριάσι τοσαύταις. εὐρίσκω γὰρ συμβαλλόμενος, εἰ 2

χοίνικα πυρῶν ἕκαστος τῆς ἡμέρας ἐλάμβανε καὶ μηδὲν πλέον, ἔνδεκα μυριάδας μεδίμνων τελουμένας ἐφ' ἡμέρα ἐκάστη καὶ πρὸς τριακοσίους τε ἄλλους μεδίμνους καὶ τεσσαράκοντα. γυναιξὶ δὲ καὶ εὐνούχοις καὶ ὑποζυγίοις καὶ κυσὶν οὐ λογίζομαι. ἀνδρῶν δ' οὐσῶν τοσούτων μυριάδων κάλλους τε ἔνεκα καὶ μεγέθους οὐδεὶς αὐτῶν ἀξιονικότερος ἦν αὐτοῦ Ξέρξου ἔχειν τοῦτο τὸ κράτος.

188 Then the fleet hastened to set sail, and came to the sea-coast of Magnesia, which lies between the city of Casthanea and the Sepian promontory: and the foremost ships of the fleet were moored to the land, but the remainder rode at anchor. And because the beach was small, they were moored eight deep with prows turned seawards. And so they continued all night, but at dawn, from a clear sky and calm sea, there arose a great tempest and a mighty east wind, which the inhabitants of these parts call the Hellespontine, and the waves rose high. Now all those who perceived that the wind was increasing, and remained at their moorings and ran their ships aground before the storm fell upon them, escaped with their ships; but of those which the storm overtook, some it drove out to sea and cast them up on the rocks which are called the Ipni and which lie over against Pelion, and some on to the sea-coast, but others were broken in pieces on Cape Sepias, and others cast up hard by the cities of Meliboea and Casthanea, for the violence of the storm was very great.

189 Now it is said that the Athenians had invoked Boreas in accordance with an oracle which bade them call to their assistance their brother-in-law. Now Boreas, according to a tradition of the Greeks, carried off Orithyia the daughter of Erechtheus. Therefore the Athenians, by reason of this kinship, judged that Boreas was their brother-in-law, and while they were lying in wait at Chalcis in Euboea, perceiving that a storm was about to arise, they began to sacrifice and to call upon Boreas and Orithyia to come to their aid and destroy the ships of the barbarians, as they had formerly

done at Athos. But I cannot tell if Boreas fell upon the enemy ships in answer to the prayers of the Athenians or for some other reason. But some of the Athenians, declaring that Boreas had formerly helped them and now had wrought this destruction upon the enemy, went away and set up statues to him by the river Ilissus.

Ἐν τούτῳ τῷ πόνῳ ναῦς, οἱ ἐλαχίστας, λέγουσι 190
 διαφθαρῆναι τετρακοσίων οὐκ ἐλάσσονας, ἀνδρας τε
 ἀναριθμήτους χρημάτων τε πλῆθος ἄφθονον· ὥστε
 Ἀμεινοκλεί τῷ Κρητίνου ἀνδρὶ Μάγνητι γηοχοῦντι περὶ
 Σηπιάδα μεγάλως ἡ ναυαγία αὕτη ἐγένετο χρηστή· ὃς
 πολλὰ μὲν χρυσᾶ ποτήρια ὑστέρῳ χρόνῳ ἐκβρασσόμενα
 ἀνείλετο, πολλὰ δὲ ἀργυρᾶ, θησαυρούς τε τῶν Περσῶν
 εὔρεν, ἄλλα τε ἄφατα χρήματα περιεβάλετο. ἀλλ'
 ὁ μὲν τᾶλλα οὐκ εὐτυχῶν εὐρήμασι μέγα πλούσιος
 ἐγένετο· ἦν γάρ τις καὶ τοῦτον ἄχαρις συμφορὰ
 λυπούσα παιδοφόνος.

And of the merchantmen which carried corn, and of 191
 the other ships, there were destroyed a number beyond
 reckoning, so that the captains of the fleet, fearing that
 the Thessalians might attack them when they were thus
 distressed, set up a high fence made from the wreckage.
 And for three days the storm raged. But on the fourth
 day the Wise Men made divers incantations and offered
 sacrifice to Thetis and to the Nereids. And accordingly
 the storm ceased, or else it abated of itself. And they
 made sacrifice to Thetis because the Ionians say that
 she was seized from this country by Peleus, and that
 the whole Sepian promontory belonged to her and to
 the other Nereids.

On the fourth day, then, the storm ceased. And the 192
 day-watchers on the Euboean heights ran to the Greeks
 on the second day after the storm had arisen, and
 related to them all that had befallen the ships. And
 when the Greeks learned this, they offered prayers to
 Poseidon the Saviour, pouring libations, and then sailed

back with all speed to Artemisium, hoping that only a few ships would be drawn up against them. And coming there a second time they lay in wait about Artemisium. And they reverence the name of Poseidon the Saviour to this day.

- 193 Οἱ δὲ βάρβαροι, ὡς ἐπαύσατό τε ὁ ἄνεμος καὶ τὸ κῦμα ἔστρωτο, κατασπάσαντες τὰς ναῦς ἐπλεον παρὰ τὴν ἡπειρον, κάμψαντες δὲ τὴν ἄκραν τῆς Μαγνησίας εὐθείαν ἐπλεον ἐς τὸν κόλπον τὸν ἐπὶ Παγασῶν
 2 φέροντα. ἔστι δὲ χῶρος ἐν τῷ κόλπῳ τούτῳ τῆς Μαγνησίας, ἐνθα λέγεται τὸν Ἡρακλέα καταλειφθῆναι ὑπὸ Ἰάσονός τε καὶ τῶν συνεταίρων ἐκ τῆς Ἀργεῖος ἐφ' ὕδαρ πεμφθέντα, ὅτε ἐπὶ τὸ κῶας ἐπλεον ἐς Αἴαν τὴν Κολχίδα· ἐντεῦθεν γὰρ ἔμελλον ὑδρευσάμενοι ἐς τὸ πέλαγος ἀφήσειν, ἐπὶ τούτου δὲ τῷ χώρῳ ὄνομα γέγονεν
- 194 Ἀφέται. ἐν τούτῳ οὖν ὄρμον οἱ Ξέρξου ἐποιοῦντο. πεντεκαίδεκα δὲ τῶν νεῶν τούτων ἔτυχόν τε ὕσταται πολὺ ἐξαναχθεῖσαι καὶ πῶς κατείδον τὰς ἐπ' Ἀρτεμισίῳ τῶν Ἑλλήνων ναῦς. ἔδοξάν τε δὴ τὰς σφετέρας εἶναι οἱ βάρβαροι καὶ πλείοντες ἐσέπεσον ἐς τοὺς πολεμίους· ὧν ἐστρατήγει ὁ ἀπὸ Κύμης τῆς Αἰολίδος ὑπαρχος Σανδώκης ὁ Θαμασίῳ, ὃν δὴ πρότερον τούτων βασιλεὺς Δαρεῖος ἐπ' αἰτία τοιαύδε λαβὼν ἀνεσταύρωσεν, ὄντα τῶν βασιλείων δικαστῶν· ὁ Σανδώκης ἐπὶ χρήμασιν ἄδικον
 2 δίκην ἐδίκασεν. ἀνακρεμασθέντος οὖν αὐτοῦ λογιζόμενος ὁ Δαρεῖος εὔρεν αὐτῷ πλέω ἀγαθὰ τῶν ἀμαρτημάτων πεποιημένα ἐς οἶκον τὸν βασιλείον· εὐρὼν δὲ τοῦτο ὁ Δαρεῖος καὶ γνοὺς ὡς ταχύτερα αὐτὸς ἢ σοφώτερα
 3 εἰργασμένος εἶη, ἔλυσεν. βασιλέα μὲν δὴ Δαρεῖον οὕτω διαφυγὼν μὴ ἀπολέσθαι περιῆν, τότε δὲ ἐς τοὺς Ἑλλήνας καταπλεύσας ἔμελλεν οὐ τὸ δεύτερον διαφυγὼν ἔσεσθαι· ὡς γὰρ αὐτοὺς εἶδον προσπλέοντας οἱ Ἑλληνες,

μαθόντες αὐτῶν τὴν γιγνομένην ἀμαρτάδα ἐπαναχθέντες
εὐπετῶς αὐτοὺς εἶλον.

In one of these was captured Aridolis, the tyrant of 195
the Alabandi in Caria, and in another the captain of the
Paphian ships, by name Penthylus, son of Demonous,
who had brought twelve ships from Paphos. He had
lost eleven in the storm at Cape Sepias, and as he
sailed to Artemisium in the twelfth he was captured.
And the Greeks, having asked of these men all those
things of which they desired knowledge concerning
Xerxes and his army, sent them away bound to the
Isthmus of Corinth.

And all the ships of the enemy, except those over 196
which Sandoces had command, came to Aphetæ. And
Xerxes and his army, having marched through Thessaly
and Achæa, on the third day came to Malis. Now in
Thessaly he held a contest between his own horses and
the horses of Thessaly, and found out how much better
were his own horses than those of Greece. For the
Greek horses were left far behind in the race. And of
the rivers of Thessaly the Onochonus alone did not
suffice for the army when it drank thereof. But of the
Achæan rivers Epidanus, which is the largest, was
barely sufficient.

Now the guides, who wished to point out everything 197
to Xerxes, told him when he was come to Alos in
Achæa the tales known to the dwellers in those parts.
And they told him concerning Laphystian Zeus, and
how Athamas the son of Aeolus, after taking counsel
with Ino, had devised the death of Phrixus, and how
the Achæans in accordance with an oracle had laid
their ordinance upon his descendants. Whoever is
the eldest of this family, they enjoin that he shall
not enter the 'People's House', and they themselves
keep guard. (The Achæans call the town hall the
'People's House'.) But if he enter, he cannot again
leave it without being offered upon the altar. And
many of these men to escape from the sacrifice flee
away to another country in their fear, but in due
season they return again; and if as they enter the
town hall they are captured, they are led forth to

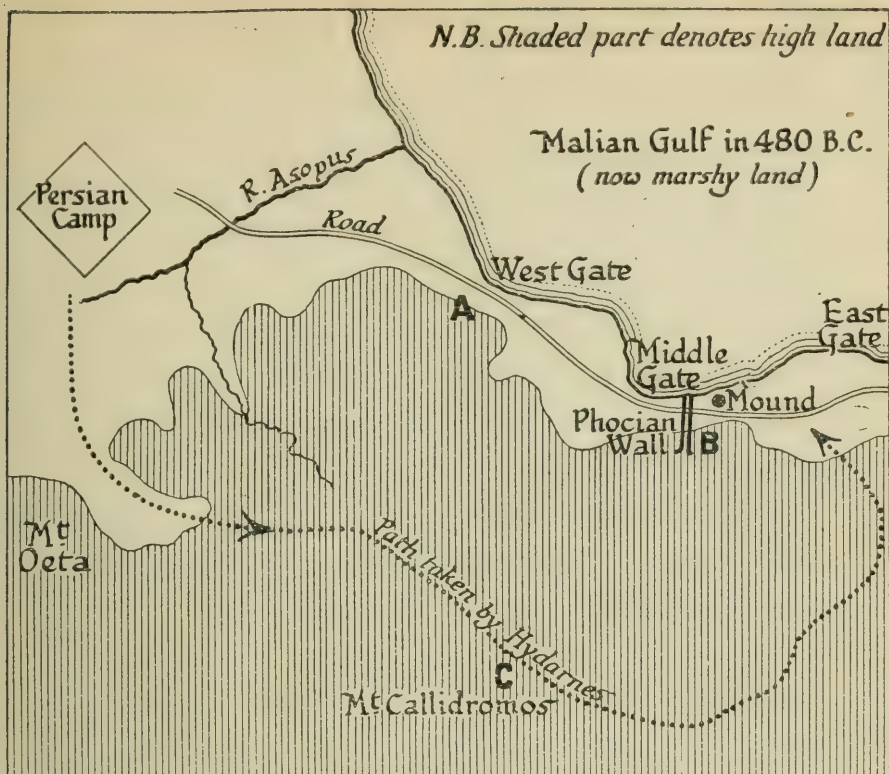
the altar with many garlands about them, and with much people following them. And the descendants of Cytissorus the son of Phrixus suffer these things because, when the Achaeans were intending to offer up Athamas the son of Aeolus as a propitiation for the country in accordance with an oracle, this Cytissorus came from Colchian Aea and saved him. And in so doing he brought the wrath of heaven upon his own posterity. And when Xerxes heard this he went not into the grove himself, and forbade his army to go in, and in like manner did he pay honour to the house and sanctuary of the descendants of Athamas.

Synopsis of Chapters 198, 199, and 200.

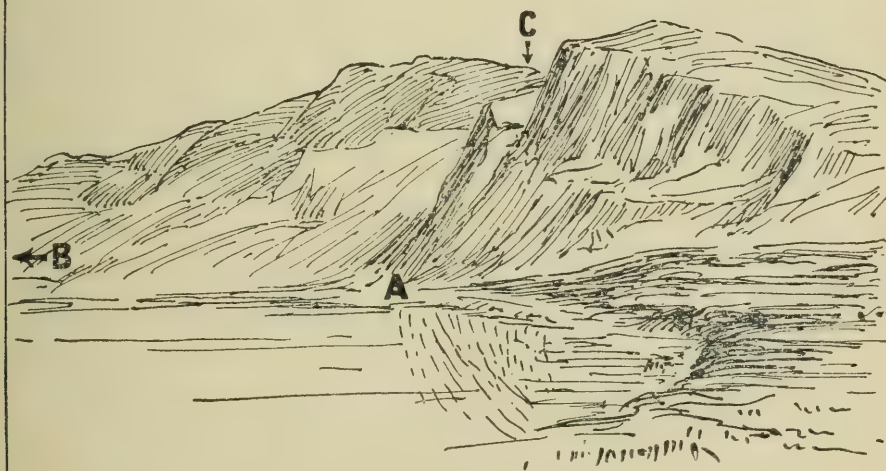
These things happened in Thessaly and Achaëa. And thence Xerxes went to Malis, and thence to Anticyra. And after this he passed the rivers Spercheius, Duras, and Melas, and came to Trachis. And thereafter he passed the rivers Asopus and Phoenix, and so came to Thermopylae. And between Thermopylae and the river Phoenix there is a village called Anthela, near which the river Asopus enters the sea. And at Anthela there are the temple of Demeter Amphictyonis, and the meeting-place of the Council, and the temple of Amphictyon.

201 King Xerxes was encamped in Trachinia of Malis, and the Greeks were encamped over against him in the pass. Now this place is called Thermopylae by the rest of the Greeks, but the natives and neighbouring peoples call it Pylae. Here then the two armies were encamped, and Xerxes was master over all those regions which are to the north as far as Trachis, and the Greeks held all toward the south to the verge of the mainland.

202 And these were the Greeks who awaited the Persians in this place: three hundred hoplites of Sparta, one thousand from Tegea and Mantinea (five hundred from each city), one hundred and twenty from Orchomenus in Arcadia, and one thousand from the rest of Arcadia: and from Corinth came four hundred men, and from Phlius two hundred, and from Mycenae eighty. All these came from the Peloponnese, and there were seven hundred from Boeotia and Thespiæ, and four hundred from Thebes.



Thermopylae from the N.W.



A Greeks' first stand **B** Greeks' last stand **C** Phocians' Position

203 Πρὸς τούτοις ἐπὶ κλητοὶ ἐγένοντο Λοκροὶ τε οἱ Ὀπούν-
 τιοι πανστρατιά καὶ Φωκέων χίλιοι. αὐτοὶ γὰρ τούτους οἱ
 "Ἕλληνες ἐπεκαλέσαντο, λέγοντες δι' ἀγγέλων ὥς αὐτοὶ
 μὲν ἦκοιεν πρόδρομοι τῶν ἄλλων, οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ τῶν
 συμμάχων προσδόκιμοι πᾶσαν εἶεν ἡμέραν, ἢ θάλασσά
 τε αὐτοῖς εἴη ἐν φυλακῇ ὑπ' Ἀθηναίων τε φρουρουμένη
 καὶ Αἰγινητῶν καὶ τῶν ἐς τὸν ναυτικὸν στρατὸν ταχθέν-
 2 των, καὶ αὐτοῖς εἴη δεινὸν οὐδέν· οὐ γὰρ θεὸν εἶναι τὸν
 ἐπιόντα ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα ἀλλ' ἄνθρωπον, εἶναι δὲ θνη-
 τὸν οὐδένα οὐδὲ ἔσεσθαι ᾧ κακὸν ἐξ ἀρχῆς γιγνομένῳ
 οὐ συνεμίχθη, τοῖς δὲ μεγίστοις αὐτῶν μέγιστα· ὀφεί-
 λειν οὖν καὶ τὸν ἐπελαύνοντα, ὥς ὄντα θνητόν, ἀπὸ τῆς
 δόξης πεσεῖν. οἱ δὲ ταῦτα πυνθανόμενοι ἐβοήθουν ἐς
 τὴν Τραχίνα.

204 And moreover they had various captains for each city, but the man who was most held in honour, and who commanded the whole army, was a Spartan, Leonidas, son of Anaxandridas, son of Leo, son of Eurycratidas, son of Anaxander, son of Eurycrates, son of Polydorus, son of Alcamenes, son of Teleclus, son of Archelaüs, son of Agesilaüs, son of Doryssus, son of Leobotas, son of Echestratus, son of Agis, son of Eurysthenes, son of Aristodemus, son of Aristomachus, son of Cleodaeus, son of Hyllus, son of Heracles; and he had obtained the throne contrary to the expectation of all men.

For since he had two elder brothers, Cleomenes and 205 Dorieus, he had no thought that he himself would mount the throne. But Cleomenes having died without male issue, and Dorieus likewise being no more, having died in Sicily, the throne went to Leonidas, since he had been born before Cleombrotus, the youngest son of Anaxandridas, and furthermore had married the daughter of Cleomenes. So he collected soldiers, to wit the three hundred allotted him by law, choosing men such as were fathers and who had sons living, and with them

marched to Thermopylae. And on the way he took the Thebans, whose number I have already mentioned, whose leader was Leontiades, the son of Eurymachus. And this was the reason why he was desirous to take with him these only of the Greeks, namely that it was charged against them that they were well disposed toward the Persians. He summoned them therefore, wishing to know whether they would send troops, or whether they would hold themselves apart from alliance with the Greeks. But though in their heart they wished it not, they sent some troops.

Now the Spartans first sent Leonidas and his men 206 in order that the other allies, seeing them, might fight more boldly, and especially that the Thebans might not desert to the Persians, as they were like to do had they seen the Spartans to be backward in the war. For the Spartans themselves were hindered by the feast of Carneia, for they intended first to keep the feast, and then, leaving a guard at Sparta, to march to succour Leonidas with all their strength and with all speed. And the rest of the allies planned to do in like manner; for the Olympian festival fell due at that season; so, not thinking that the battle at Thermopylae would be decided so soon, they sent a small guard only in advance.

Such were their plans; but the Greeks at Thermo- 207 pylae, seeing that the Persians were making ready to do battle, began to be sore afraid and to take counsel for their retreat. So the other Peloponnesians determined to march to the Isthmus in the Peloponnese and there remain on guard: but, inasmuch as the Phocians and the Locrians were wroth at this, Leonidas determined to remain there and to send messengers to the cities ordering them to come to succour him, seeing how his men were few in number to ward off the Persian host.

Ταῦτα βουλευομένων αὐτῶν ἔπεμπε Ξέρξης κατά- 208 σκοπον ἰππέα ἰδέσθαι ὅποσοι εἰσὶ καὶ ὃ τι ποιοῖεν. ἀκηκόει δὲ ἔτι ὧν ἐν Θεσσαλίᾳ ὡς ἠλισμένη εἷη ταύτη στρατιὰ ὀλίγη, καὶ τοὺς ἡγεμόνας ὥς εἶψαν Λακεδαι-

² μόνιοί τε καὶ Λεωνίδας, ὧν γένος Ἡρακλείδης. ὥς δὲ
 προσήλασεν ὁ ἵππεὺς πρὸς τὸ στρατόπεδον, ἐθεᾶτό τε
 καὶ καθεώρα πᾶν μὲν οὐ τὸ στρατόπεδον· τοὺς γὰρ ἔσω
 τεταγμένους τοῦ τείχους, ὃ ἀνορθώσαντες εἶχον ἐν
 φυλακῇ, οὐχ οἷόν τε ἦν κατιδέσθαι· ὁ δὲ τοὺς ἔξω ἐμάνθαν-
 νεν, εἷς πρὸ τοῦ τείχους τὰ ὄπλα ἔκειτο. ἔτυχον δὲ τοῦτον
³ τὸν χρόνον Λακεδαιμόνιοι ἔξω τεταγμένοι. τοὺς μὲν δὴ
 ἑώρα γυμναζομένους τῶν ἀνδρῶν, τοὺς δὲ τὰς κόμας
 κτενιζομένους. ταῦτα δὴ θεώμενος ἐθαύμαζε καὶ τὸ
 πλῆθος ἐμάνθανεν. μαθὼν δὲ πάντα ἀκριβῶς ἀπήλυνεν
 ὀπίσω καθ' ἡσυχίαν· οὔτε γὰρ τις ἐδίδωκεν ἀλογίας τε
 ἐκύρησε πολλῆς· ἀπελθὼν τε ἔλεγε πρὸς Ξέρξην ἅπερ
²⁰⁹ ἐωράκει πάντα. ἀκούων δὲ Ξέρξης οὐκ εἶχε συμβαλέ-
 σθαι τὸ ὄν, ὅτι παρεσκευάζοντο ὥς ἀπολούμενοί τε καὶ
 ἀπολοῦντες κατὰ δύναμιν· ἀλλ' αὐτῷ γελοῖα γὰρ
 ἐφαίνοντο ποιεῖν, μετεπέμψατο Δημάρατον τὸν Ἀρί-
² στωνος, ὄντα ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ. ἀφικόμενον δὲ αὐτὸν
 ἠρώτα Ξέρξης ἕκαστα τούτων, ἐθέλων μαθεῖν τὸ ποιού-
 μενον πρὸς τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων· ὁ δὲ εἶπεν· “Ἡκουσας
 μὲν καὶ πρότερόν μου, ὅτε ὠρμῶμεν ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα, περὶ
 τῶν ἀνδρῶν τούτων· ἀκούσας δὲ γέλωτά με ἔθου λέγοντα
 ἥπερ ἐώρων ἐκβησόμενα πράγματα ταῦτα. ἐμοὶ γὰρ
 τὴν ἀλήθειαν ἀσκεῖν ἀντὶ σοῦ, ὦ βασιλεῦ, ἀγὼν μέγιστός
³ ἐστίν. ἄκουσον δὲ καὶ νῦν. οἱ ἄνδρες οὗτοι ἀφιγμένοι
 εἰσὶ μαχούμενοι ἡμῖν περὶ τῆς ἐσόδου καὶ ταῦτα παρα-
 σκευάζονται. νόμος γὰρ αὐτοῖς οὕτως ἔχων ἐστίν· ἐπὰν
 μέλλωσι κινδυεύειν τῇ ψυχῇ, τότε τὰς κεφαλὰς
⁴ κοσμοῦνται. ἐπίστασο δέ· εἰ τούτους τε καὶ τὸ
 ὑπομένον ἐν Σπάρτῃ καταστρέψει, ἐστὶν οὐδὲν ἄλλο
 ἔθνος ἀνθρώπων ὃ σέ, βασιλεῦ, ὑπομένει χεῖρας ἀντ-

αιρόμενον· νῦν γὰρ πρὸς βασιλείαν τε καλλίστην τῶν ἐν
 Ἑλλησι προσφέρει καὶ ἄνδρας ἀρίστους.” κάρτα τε δὴ
 Ξέρξῃ ἄπιστα ἐφαίνετο τὰ λεγόμενα εἶναι καὶ δεύτερα 5
 ἐπηρώτα ὄντινα τρόπον τοσοῦτοι ὄντες τῇ ἑαυτοῦ στρατιᾷ
 μαχοῦνται. ὁ δὲ εἶπεν· “ὦ βασιλεῦ, ἐμοὶ χρῆσθαι ὡς
 ἀνδρὶ ψεύστη, ἢν μὴ ταῦτά σοι ταύτῃ ἐκβῇ ἢ ἐγὼ λέγω.”
 ταῦτα λέγων οὐκ ἔπειθε τὸν Ξέρξην. τέσσαρας μὲν δὴ 210
 παρῆκεν ἡμέρας, ἐλπίζων αἰεὶ αὐτοὺς ἀποδράσασθαι·
 πέμπτη δέ, ὡς οὐκ ἀπηλλάσσοντο ἀλλὰ αὐτῷ ἐφαίνοντο
 ἀναιδεία τε καὶ ἀβουλία διαχρώμενοι μένειν, πέμπει
 ἐπ’ αὐτοὺς Μήδους τε καὶ Κισσίους θυμωθεῖς, ἐντειλά-
 μενος αὐτοὺς ζωγρήσαντας ἄγειν ἐς ὄψιν τὴν ἑαυτοῦ. ὡς 2
 δ’ ἐσέπεσον φερόμενοι ἐς τοὺς Ἑλληνας οἱ Μῆδοι, ἔπιπτον
 πολλοί, ἄλλοι δ’ ἐπεσῆσαν, καὶ οὐκ ἀπήλαννον καίπερ
 μέγας προσπταίνοντες. δῆλον δ’ ἐποίουσαν παντί τινι
 καὶ οὐχ ἥκιστα αὐτῷ τῷ βασιλεῖ ὅτι πολλοὶ μὲν ἀνθρωποι
 εἶεν, ὀλίγοι δὲ ἄνδρες. ἐγίγνετο δὲ ἡ συμβολὴ δι’
 ἡμέρας.

But when already the Medes were being roughly 211
 handled, then the Greeks went forward against them,
 but the Persians whom the king called the Immortals,
 and whose commander was Hydarnes, came up to do
 battle in their stead and fell upon the Greeks, thinking
 to overpower them with ease. But when these too
 came up against the Greeks, neither did they gain any
 more advantage, seeing that they were fighting in a
 narrow space and were using shorter spears than did
 the Greeks, nor could they profit by their numbers.
 And the Lacedaemonians fought in a manner worthy to
 be told, for they showed that, though their enemies
 knew not how to fight, yet did they know full well.
 Often they turned their backs, to flee as though in con-
 fusion, and the barbarians, seeing them put to flight,
 charged upon them with a great shouting and noise of
 arms, but the Greeks, when they were overtaken, turned

them about and fought the barbarians face to face, and thus did they turn to flight their countless host; but of the Spartans likewise there fell some few. But when the Persians could not win the pass, though they strove oft to take it, attacking by companies and in whatsoever manner they were able, then at length they drew off.

212 It is said that while the battle was thus going forward the king as he watched leaped thrice out of his throne, being affrighted for the safety of his host. So they fought, and on the next day the barbarians gained no more advantage; for since the Greeks were few, the Persians set on once more, thinking that they already had grievous hurt. Now the Greeks had been drawn up company by company and tribe by tribe, and each fought in turn, except the Phocians: but these were drawn up on the hill-side to guard the path over the mountain. But when the Persians met with no better fortune than on the previous day, they took themselves back.

213 And when the king was in sore doubt what were best to be done, a certain Malian, by name Ephialtes, came to him, hoping that he should receive some great reward, and told him concerning the path over the mountain to Thermopylae, and thus did he bring doom upon the Greeks who were waiting there. And afterwards, fearing the wrath of the Lacedaemonians, he fled to Thessaly, and when he had fled, a price was set on his head by the Pylagorae, meeting in an assembly of the Amphictyons at Pylae. And at a later time he fled to Anticyra and was killed by Athenades of Trachis. But Athenades killed Ephialtes for another reason, which I will relate in one of the following books, but nevertheless he was honoured by the Spartans.

214 Thus died Ephialtes in after time: but there is another story told that Onetes, the son of Phanagores, a native of Carystus, and Corydallus of Anticyra were the men who told this matter to the king, and who led the Persians round the mountain: but this I can in no wise believe. For herein is it possible to weigh the truth, in that the deputies at Pylae, having inquired accurately into the whole matter, set a price, not upon Onetes and Corydallus, but upon Ephialtes of Trachis; moreover

it was for this that Ephialtes fled away. For Onetes, though not a Malian by birth, might indeed have known the path if he had often visited that region : but it was Ephialtes who led the Persians by the path over the mountain, and therefore I lay it to his charge.

Now the things that Ephialtes had promised found 215
favour in Xerxes' eyes, and he sent Hydarnes and the men under his command. And they, leaving the camp about the time of the lighting of the lamps, went forth upon their errand. Now in time past this path had been found by the Malians, who dwelled in those parts, and by it they had led the Thessalians against the Phocians, but the Phocians had protected themselves with a wall ; and from those days the path had never been used by the Malians.

The path begins in the gorge through which flows 216
the river Asopus. And this mountain and this path are both called by the same name—Anopaea. And thence it continues along the ridge of the mountain and ends by the city of Alpenus, the first of all the Locrian cities on the Malian side ; and on its way it passes the stone which is called the Black Rump. And in its narrowest parts are the dwellings of the Cercopians.

Κατὰ ταύτην δὴ τὴν ἀτραπὸν καὶ οὕτως ἔχουσιν οἱ 217
Πέρσαι τὸν Ἀσωπὸν διαβάντες ἐπορεύοντο πᾶσαν τὴν
νύκτα, ἐν δεξιᾷ μὲν ἔχοντες ὄρη τὰ Οἰταίων, ἐν ἀριστερᾷ
δὲ τὰ Τραχινίων. ἕως τε δὴ διέφαινε καὶ ἐγένοντο ἐπ'
ἀκρωτηρίῳ τοῦ ὄρους. κατὰ δὲ τοῦτο τοῦ ὄρους ἐφύλασ- 2
σον, ὥς καὶ πρότερόν μοι δεδήλωται, Φωκέων χίλιοι
ὀπλῖται, ῥυόμενοί τε τὴν σφετέραν χώραν καὶ φρουροῦντες
τὴν ἀτραπὸν. ἡ μὲν γὰρ κάτω ἐσβολὴ ἐφυλάσσετο ὑφ'
ὧν εἴρηται· τὴν δὲ διὰ τοῦ ὄρους ἀτραπὸν ἐθέλονται
Φωκεῖς ὑποδεξάμενοι Λεωνίδα ἐφύλασσαν. ἔμαθον δὲ 218
αὐτοὺς οἱ Φωκεῖς ὅδε ἀναβεβηκότας· ἀναβαίνοντες γὰρ
ἐλάνθανον οἱ Πέρσαι τὸ ὄρος πᾶν ὃν δρυῶν ἐπίπλεον.
ἦν μὲν δὴ νηνεμία, ψόφου δὲ γιγνομένου πολλοῦ, ὥς
εἰκὸς ἦν φύλλων ὑποκεχυμένων ὑπὸ τοῖς ποσίν, ἀνά τε

ἔδραμον οἱ Φωκεῖς καὶ ἐνέδυνον τὰ ὄπλα, καὶ αὐτίκα οἱ
 ■ βάρβαροι παρήσαν. ὥς δὲ εἶδον ἄνδρας ἐνδυομένους
 ὄπλα, ἐν θαύματι ἐγένοντο· ἐλπίζοντες γὰρ οὐδὲν σφίσι
 φανήσεσθαι ἀντίξοον ἐνεκύρησαν στρατῷ. ἐνταῦθα
 Ὑδάρνης κατορρωδήσας μὴ οἱ Φωκεῖς ὧσι Λακεδαιμόνιοι,
 ἦρετο Ἐφιάλτην ὁποδαπὸς εἴη ὁ στρατός, πυθόμενος δὲ
 3 ἀκριβῶς διέτασσε τοὺς Πέρσας ὥς ἐς μάχην. οἱ δὲ Φωκεῖς
 ὥς ἐβάλλοντο τοῖς τοξεύμασι πολλοῖς τε καὶ πυκνοῖς
 ᾗχοντο φεύγοντες ἐπὶ τοῦ ὄρους τὸν κόρυμβον, ἐπιστάμενοι
 ὥς ἐπὶ σφᾶς ὠρμήθησαν ἀρχήν, καὶ παρεσκευάζοντο ὥς
 ἀπολούμενοι. οὗτοι μὲν δὴ ταῦτα ἐφρόνου, οἱ δὲ ἀμφὶ
 Ἐφιάλτην καὶ Ὑδάρνη Πέρσαι Φωκέων μὲν οὐδένα
 λόγον ἐποιοῦντο, οἱ δὲ κατέβαινον τὸ ὄρος κατὰ τάχος.

219 Now in the meanwhile Megistias the seer prophesied to all the Greeks that were in Thermopylae that they should die at sunrise. And during the night certain fugitives from the camp of the Persians brought news of men that were passing round the mountain; and the scouts also who were on the mountains came in about the rising up of the sun. The Greeks therefore took counsel, but they were not agreed; for some advised that they should remain in the place where they were, while others withstood this counsel vehemently. Thereupon they parted and went their several ways each to his own city; but the others prepared to defend themselves even in the place where they were. And their leader was Leonidas.

220 Λέγεται δὲ καὶ ὥς αὐτὸς τούτους ἀπέπεμψε Λεωνίδας, μὴ ἀπόλωνται κηδόμενος· αὐτῷ δὲ καὶ Σπάρτιατῶν τοῖς παροῦσιν οὐκ ἔχειν εὐπρεπῶς ἐκλιπεῖν τὴν τάξιν ἐς ἣν
 2 ἦλθον φυλάξοντες ἀρχήν. ταύτῃ καὶ μᾶλλον τὴν γνώμην πλείστός εἰμι, Λεωνίδαν, ἐπεὶ ἦσθετο τοὺς συμμάχους ὄντας ἀπροθύμους καὶ οὐκ ἐθέλοντας συνδιακινδυνεύειν, κελεύσαι αὐτοὺς ἀπαλλάσσεσθαι, αὐτῷ δὲ

ἀπιέναι οὐ καλῶς ἔχειν· μένοντι δὲ αὐτοῦ κλέος μέγα
 ἐλείπετο, καὶ ἡ Σπάρτης εὐδαιμονία οὐκ ἐξηλείφετο.
 ἐκέχρηστο γὰρ ὑπὸ τῆς Πυθίας τοῖς Σπαρτιάταις 3
 χρωμένοις περὶ τοῦ πολέμου τούτου αὐτίκα κατ' ἀρχὰς
 ἐγειρομένου, ἢ Λακεδαίμονα ἀνάστατον γενέσθαι ὑπὸ
 τῶν βαρβάρων ἢ τὸν βασιλέα αὐτῶν ἀπολέσθαι. ταῦτα
 δὲ ἐν ἔπεσιν ἐξαμέτροις χρῆν ἔχοντα ᾧδε·

ὕμῖν δ', ᾧ Σπάρτης οἰκήτορες εὐρυχόροιο, 4
 ἢ μέγα ἄστν ἐρικυδὲς ὑπ' ἀνδράσι Περσεΐδῃσι
 πέρθεται, ἢ τὸ μὲν οὐχί, ἀφ' Ἡρακλέους δὲ γενέθλης
 πενθήσει βασιλῇ φθίμενον Λακεδαίμονος οὔρος.
 οὐ γὰρ τὸν ταύρων σχήσει μένος οὐδὲ λεόντων
 ἀντιβίην· Ζηνὸς γὰρ ἔχει μένος· οὐδέ ἔ φημι
 σχήσεσθαι, πρὶν τῶνδ' ἕτερον διὰ πάντα δάσσηται.

ταῦτά τε δὴ ἐπιλεγόμενον Λεωνίδα καὶ βουλόμενον κλέος
 καταθέσθαι μόνων Σπαρτιατῶν, ἀποπέμψαι τοὺς συμ-
 μάχους μᾶλλον ἢ γνώμῃ διενεχθέντας οὕτως ἀκόσμως
 οἴχεσθαι τοὺς οἰχόμενους.

And in this there is clear proof. For Leonidas would 221
 not suffer Megistias to remain with them and to die
 there. For Megistias was a seer, and reported to be of
 the seed of Melampus, who had prophesied to the
 Greeks of old. Therefore Leonidas did not wish him
 to stay there. But nevertheless he stayed, though he
 sent home his only son, who was also with the host.

And the allies that had been ordered to depart obeyed 222
 Leonidas and departed, so that the Thespians and the
 Thebans alone remained with the Lacedaemonians. But
 the Thebans remained against their will, for Leonidas
 kept them as hostages. The Thespians notwithstand-
 ing were very desirous to remain, and said that they
 would not depart nor leave Leonidas and those that were
 with him. So they remained and died with them. And
 their leader was Demophilus, the son of Diadromes.

- 223 Ξέρξης δὲ ἐπεὶ ἡλίου ἀνατείλαντος σπονδὰς ἐποιήσατο, ἐπισχὼν χρόνον ἐς ἀγορᾶς που μάλιστα πληθῶραν πρόσοδον ἐποιεῖτο· καὶ γὰρ ἐπέσταλτο ἐξ Ἐφιάλτου οὕτως· ἀπὸ γὰρ τοῦ ὅρους ἡ κατάβασις συντομωτέρα τέ ἐστι καὶ βραχύτερος ὁ χῶρος πολὺ ἢ ἡ περίοδος
 2 τε καὶ ἀνάβασις. οἱ τε δὴ βάρβαροι οἱ ἀμφὶ Ξέρξην προσήεσαν καὶ οἱ ἀμφὶ Λεωνίδα Ἕλληνες, ὥς τὴν ἐπὶ θανάτῳ ἔξοδον ποιοῦμενοι, ἤδη πολλῶ μᾶλλον ἢ κατ' ἀρχὰς ἐπεξήεσαν ἐς τὸ εὐρύτερον τοῦ αὐχένος. τὸ μὲν γὰρ ἔρυμα τοῦ τείχους ἐφυλάσσετο, οἱ δὲ ἀνὰ τὰς προτέρας ἡμέρας ὑπεξιόντες ἐς τὰ στενόπορα ἐμάχοντο.
 2 τότε δὲ συμμίσγοντες ἔξω τῶν στενῶν ἔπιπτον πλήθει πολλοὶ τῶν βαρβάρων· ὀπισθε γὰρ οἱ ἡγεμόνες τῶν τελῶν ἔχοντες μᾶστιγας ἐρράπιζον πάντα ἄνδρα, αἰὲς ἐς τὸ πρόσω ἐποτρύνοντες. πολλοὶ μὲν δὴ ἐσέπιπτον αὐτῶν ἐς τὴν θάλασσαν καὶ διεφθείροντο, πολλῶ δ' ἔτι πλείονες κατεπατοῦντο ζωοὶ ὑπ' ἀλλήλων· ἦν δὲ λόγος
 3 οὐδεὶς τοῦ ἀπολλυμένου. ἄτε γὰρ ἐπιστάμενοι τὸν μέλλοντα σφίσιν ἔσεσθαι θάνατον ἐκ τῶν περιούτων τὸ ὅρος, ἀπεδείκνυντο ῥώμης ὅσον εἶχον μέγιστον ἐς τοὺς
 224 βαρβάρους, παραχρῶμενοί τε καὶ ἀτοῦντες. δόρατα μὲν νυν τοῖς πλέοσιν αὐτῶν τηνικαῦτα ἤδη ἐτύγχανε κατεαγότα, οἱ δὲ τοῖς ξίφεσι διειργάζοντο τοὺς Πέρσας. καὶ Λεωνίδας τε ἐν τούτῳ τῷ πόνῳ πίπτει ἀνὴρ γενόμενος ἄριστος, καὶ ἕτεροι μετ' αὐτοῦ ὀνομαστοὶ Σπαρτιατῶν, ὧν ἐγὼ ὡς ἀνδρῶν ἀξίων γενομένων ἐπυθόμην τὰ ὀνόματα, ἐπυθόμην δὲ καὶ ἀπάντων τῶν τριακοσίων.
 2 καὶ δὴ Περσῶν πίπτουσιν ἐνταῦθα ἄλλοι τε πολλοὶ καὶ ὀνομαστοί, ἐν δὲ δὴ καὶ Δαρείου δύο παῖδες, Ἀβροκόμης τε καὶ Ὑπεράνθης, ἐκ τῆς Ἀρτάνου θυγατρὸς Φρατα-

γούνης γεγονότες Δαρείῳ. ὁ δὲ Ἀρτάνης Δαρείου
 μὲν τοῦ βασιλέως ἦν ἀδελφός, Ὑστάσπου δὲ τοῦ
 Ἀρσάμους παῖς· ὃς καὶ ἐκδιδοὺς τὴν θυγατέρα Δαρείῳ
 τὸν οἶκον πάντα τὸν ἑαυτοῦ ἐπέδωκεν, ὡς μόνου οἱ οὔσης
 ταύτης τέκνου. Ἐέρξου τε δὴ δύο ἀδελφοὶ ἐνταῦθα 225
 πίπτουσι μαχόμενοι, καὶ ὑπὲρ τοῦ νεκροῦ τοῦ Λεωνίδου
 Περσῶν τε καὶ Λακεδαιμονίων ὠθισμὸς ἐγένετο πολὺς,
 ἐς ὃ τοῦτόν τε ἀρετῇ οἱ Ἕλληνες ὑπεξείρυσαν καὶ ἐτρέ-
 ψαντο τοὺς ἐναντίους τετράκισ. τοῦτο δὲ συνεστήκει μέχρι
 οὗ οἱ σὺν Ἐφιάλτῃ παρεγένοντο. ὡς δὲ τούτους ἤκειν 2
 ἐπύθοντο οἱ Ἕλληνες, ἐντεῦθεν ἤδη ἡτεροιοῦτο τὸ νεῖκος·
 ἔς τε γὰρ τὸ στενὸν τῆς ὁδοῦ ἀνεχώρουν ὀπίσω καὶ
 παραμειψάμενοι τὸ τεῖχος ἐλθόντες ἵζοντο ἐπὶ τὸν
 κολωνὸν πάντες ἀθροοὶ οἱ ἄλλοι πλὴν Θηβαίων. ὁ δὲ
 κολωνός ἐστιν ἐν τῇ ἐσόδῳ, ὅπου νῦν ὁ λίθινος λέων
 ἕστηκεν ἐπὶ Λεωνίδα. ἐν τούτῳ αὐτοὺς τῷ χώρῳ 3
 ἀλεξομένους μαχαίραις, οἷς αὐτῶν ἐτύγχανον ἔτι περι-
 οῦσαι, καὶ χερσὶ καὶ στόμασι κατέχωσαν οἱ βάρβαροι
 βάλλοντες, οἱ μὲν ἐξ ἐναντίας ἐπισπόμενοι καὶ τὸ ἔρυμα
 τοῦ τεύχους συγχώσαντες, οἱ δὲ περιελθόντες πάντοθεν
 περισταδόν.

Λακεδαιμονίων δὲ καὶ Θεσπιῶν τοιούτων γενομένων 226
 ὅμως λέγεται ἀνὴρ ἄριστος γενέσθαι Σπαρτιατῆς
 Διηνέκης· ὃν τόδε φασὶν εἰπεῖν τὸ ἔπος πρὶν ἢ συμμῖξαι
 αὐτοὺς τοῖς Μήδοις, πυθόμενον πρὸς τίνος τῶν Τραχινίων
 ὡς ἐπὰν οἱ βάρβαροι ἀφιώσι τὰ τοξεύματα, τὸν ἥλιον
 ὑπὸ τοῦ πλήθους τῶν δῖστων ἀποκρύπτουσιν· τοσοῦτο
 πλήθος αὐτῶν εἶναι· τὸν δὲ οὐκ ἐκπλαγέντα τούτοις 2
 εἰπεῖν, ἐν ἀλογίᾳ ποιούμενον τὸ τῶν Μήδων πλήθος, ὡς
 πάντα σφίσιν ἀγαθὰ ὁ Τραχίνιος ξένος ἀγγέλλοι, εἰ

ἀποκρυπτόντων τῶν Μήδων τὸν ἥλιον ὑπὸ σκιᾷ ἔσοιτο
 πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἢ μάχη καὶ οὐκ ἐν ἡλίῳ. ταῦτα μὲν καὶ
 ἄλλα τοιουτότροπα ἔπη φασὶ Διηνέκη τὸν Λακεδαιμό-
 227 νιον λιπέσθαι μνημόσυνα. μετὰ δὲ τοῦτον ἀριστεύσαι
 λέγονται Λακεδαιμόνιοι δύο ἀδελφοί, Ἀλφούς τε καὶ
 Μάρων Ὀρσιφάντου παῖδες. Θεσπιῶν δὲ ἡὺδοκίμει
 228 μάλιστα ᾧ ὄνομα ἦν Διθύραμβος Ἀρματίδου. ταφείσι
 δὲ αὐτοῖς αὐτοῦ ταύτῃ ἥπερ ἔπεσον καὶ τοῖς πρότερον
 τελευτήσασιν ἢ τοὺς ὑπὸ Λεωνίδου ἀποπεμφθέντας
 οἷχεσθαι, ἐπιγέγραπται γράμματα λέγοντα τάδε·

μυριάσιν ποτὲ τῇδε τριηκοσίαις ἐμάχοντο
 ἐκ Πελοποννάσου χιλιάδες τέτορες.

2 ταῦτα μὲν δὴ τοῖς πᾶσιν ἐπιγέγραπται, τοῖς δὲ Σπαρ-
 τιάταις ἰδίᾳ·

ὦ ξεῖν', ἀγγέλλειν Λακεδαιμονίοις ὅτι τῇδε
 κείμεθα τοῖς κείνων ῥήμασι πειθόμενοι.

3 Λακεδαιμονίοις μὲν δὴ τοῦτο, τῷ δὲ μάντει τόδε·

μνῆμα τόδε κλεινοῖο Μεγιστία, ὃν ποτε Μῆδοι
 Σπερχειὸν ποταμὸν κτεῖναν ἀμειψάμενοι,
 μάντιος, ὃς τότε Κῆρας ἐπερχομένας σάφα εἰδὼς
 οὐκ ἔτλη Σπάρτης ἡγεμόνας προλιπεῖν.

4 ἐπιγράμμασι μὲν νυν καὶ στήλαις, ἔξω ἢ τὸ τοῦ μάντεως
 ἐπίγραμμα, Ἀμφικτύονές εἰσιν αὐτοὺς οἱ ἐπικοσμήσαντες·
 τὸ δὲ τοῦ μάντεως Μεγιστίου Σιμωνίδης ὁ Λεωπρέπους
 ἐστὶ κατὰ ξενίαν ὁ ἐπιγράψας.

229 / Δύο δὲ τούτων τῶν τριακοσίων λέγεται Εὐρυτόν τε
 καὶ Ἀριστόδημον, παρὸν αὐτοῖς ἀμφοτέροις κοινῷ λόγῳ
 χρησαμένοις ἢ ἀποσωθῆναι ὁμοῦ ἐς Σπάρτην, ὥς μεθει-

μένοι τε ἦσαν ἐκ τοῦ στρατοπέδου ὑπὸ Λεωνίδου καὶ κατέκειντο ἐν Ἀλπηνοῖς ὀφθαλμιῶντες ἐς τὸ ἔσχατον, ἢ εἴ γε μὴ ἐβούλοντο νοστήσαι, ἀποθανεῖν ἅμα τοῖς ἄλλοις, παρὸν αὐτοῖς τούτων τὰ ἕτερα ποιεῖν οὐκ ἐθελῆσαι ὁμοφρονεῖν, ἀλλὰ γνώμη διενεχθέντας Εὐρυτον μὲν πυθόμενον τῶν Περσῶν τὴν περίοδον αἰτήσαντά τε τὰ ὄπλα καὶ ἐνδύντα ἄγειν αὐτὸν κελεῦσαι τὸν εἰλωτα ἐς τοὺς μαχομένους, ὅπως δὲ αὐτὸν ἤγαγε, τὸν μὲν ἀγαγόντα οἴχεσθαι φεύγοντα, τὸν δὲ ἐσπεσόντα ἐς τὸν ὄμιλον διαφθαρῆναι, Ἀριστόδημον δὲ λιποψυχοῦντα λειφθῆναι.

And I think that the Spartans would not have been wroth, had Aristodemus alone been sick and then returned, or if they had come back together. But now that each had the same excuse, and the one lost his life and the other was not willing to die, the Spartans were very wroth with Aristodemus.

In this way then men say that Aristodemus came back to Sparta. But others say that he was sent from the camp on an errand, and though he was able to return to the battle, he would not, but tarried on the road; and so he alone survived. But his fellow-messenger came back to the battle and was killed. 230

And when he returned to Sparta, reproach and disgrace awaited Aristodemus: disgrace, inasmuch as none would even kindle his fire, nor would they hold any converse with him; and reproach, inasmuch as he was called 'the Runaway.' But he wiped away all the shame at the battle of Plataea. 231

And they say that there survived yet another of the Three Hundred, by name Pantites, who was sent as an envoy to Thessaly. And when he returned to Sparta, he was had in such dishonour there that he hanged himself. 232

But the Thebans under Leontiades fought with the Greeks against the king's army. But seeing that the Persians were having the upper hand and that the 233

Greeks were fleeing to the hillock, they held up their hands and came near to the barbarians, saying, as was most true, that they wished the Medes well, 'For were we not among the first peoples to give earth and water unto the king? Nor did we come to Thermopylae but by force, and so we are not to be blamed for the great slaughter of the king's army.' By such words they escaped, for the Thessalians were their witnesses. But not in all things were they fortunate; for when the Persians received their surrender they killed some of their number while they were yet approaching, and the rest did the king order to be branded with his brand, beginning from their general Leontiades, whose son Eurymachus the Plataeans killed, when he led four hundred men against their city and took it.

- 234 Οἱ μὲν δὴ περὶ Θερμοπύλας Ἕλληνες οὕτως ἡγωνίσαντο, Ξέρξης δὲ καλέσας Δημάρατον ἡρώτα ἀρξάμενος ἐνθένδε· “Δημάρατε, ἀνὴρ εἰ ἀγαθός. τεκμαίρομαι δὲ τῇ ἀληθείᾳ· ὅσα γὰρ εἶπες, ἅπαντα ἀπέβη οὕτω. νῦν δέ μοι εἰπέ, πόσοι τινές εἰσιν οἱ λοιποὶ Λακεδαιμόνιοι, καὶ τούτων ὅπόσοι τοιοῦτοι τὰ πολέμια, εἴτε καὶ 2 ἅπαντες.” ὁ δὲ εἶπεν· “ὦ βασιλεῦ, πλήθος μὲν πολὺ πάντων τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων καὶ πόλεις πολλαί· ὁ δὲ ἐθέλεις ἐκμαθεῖν, εἴσῃ. ἔστιν ἐν τῇ Λακεδαίμονι Σπάρτη πόλις ἀνδρῶν ὀκτακισχιλίων μάλιστα. οὗτοι πάντες εἰσὶν ὅμοιοι τοῖς ἐνθάδε μαχεσαμένοις· οἳ γε μὲν ἄλλοι 3 Λακεδαιμόνιοι τούτοις μὲν οὐχ ὅμοιοι, ἀγαθοὶ δέ.” εἶπε πρὸς ταῦτα Ξέρξης· “Δημάρατε, τίνι τρόπῳ ἀπονητότατα τῶν ἀνδρῶν τούτων ἐπικρατήσομεν; ἴθι ἐξηγοῦ. σὺ γὰρ ἔχεις αὐτῶν τὰς διεξόδους τῶν βουλευμάτων, οἷα βασι- 235 λεὺς γενόμενος.” ὁ δ' ἡμέμβετο· “ὦ βασιλεῦ, εἰ μὲν δὴ συμβουλευεῖ μοι προθύμως, δίκαιόν με σοί ἐστι φράζειν τὸ ἄριστον. εἰ τῆς ναυτικῆς στρατιᾶς ναῦς τριακοσίας 2 ἀποστείλειας ἐπὶ τὴν Λάκαιναν χώραν· ἔστι δὲ ἐπ'

αὐτῇ νῆσος ἐπικειμένη ἢ ὄνομά ἐστι Κύθηρα, ἣν Χίλων ἀνὴρ παρ' ἡμῖν σοφώτατος γενόμενος κέρδος μείζον ἔφη εἶναι Σπαρτιάταις κατὰ τῆς θαλάσσης καταδεδυκέναι μάλλον ἢ ὑπερέχειν, αἰεί τι προσδοκῶν ἀπ' αὐτῆς τοιοῦτον ἔσεσθαι οἶόν σοι ἐγὼ ἐξηγοῦμαι, οὔτι τὸν σὸν στόλον προειδώς, ἀλλὰ πάντα ὁμοίως φοβούμενος ἀνδρῶν στόλον. ἐκ ταύτης τῆς νήσου ὀρμώμενοι φοβούντων ³ τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους. παροίκου δὲ πολέμου αὐτοῖς ὄντος οἰκείου οὐδὲν δεινοὶ ἔσονται σοι μὴ τῆς ἄλλης Ἑλλάδος ἀλISCOμένης ὑπὸ τοῦ πεζοῦ βοηθῶσι ταύτῃ. καταδουλωθείσης δὲ τῆς ἄλλης Ἑλλάδος ἀσθενὲς ἦδη τὸ Λακωνικὸν μόνον λείπεται. ἦν δὲ ταῦτα μὴ ποιῆς, ⁴ τὰδε σοι προσδόκα ἔσεσθαι· ἔστι τῆς Πελοποννήσου ἰσθμὸς στενός· ἐν τούτῳ τῷ χώρῳ, πάντων Πελοποννησίων συνομοσάντων ἐπὶ σοί, μάχας ἰσχυροτέρας ἄλλας τῶν γενομένων προσδέχου ἔσεσθαί σοι. ἐκεῖνο δὲ ποιήσαντι ἀμαχητὶ ὃ τε ἰσθμὸς οὗτος καὶ αἱ πόλεις προσχωρήσουσιν.”

And after this Achaemenes, who was the brother of ²³⁶ Xerxes and captain of the fleet, being present at the conversation and fearing lest Xerxes might be persuaded to act thus, spake these words: ‘O King, I see that thou givest ear to a man who envies thy good fortune, and who might haply betray thy trust. For this is the nature of the Greeks—they envy good fortune and hate the man that is more fortunate than they. And if as we now are thou wilt send out from thy fleet, of which four hundred vessels have suffered shipwreck, yet another three hundred ships to sail round the Peloponnese, thine enemies will become a match for thee in battle. If, however, thy fleet be kept together and remain in one body, then were it more dangerous for them to attack thee, and they will be no match for thee at all; and all the fleet will help the army, and the land force going together with the sea force will help

it in like manner. But if thou separate the two of them, neither thyself nor the army will have profit. But do thou heed only the things which concern thee, and take no heed unto the affairs of the enemy, as to where they will stand, or what they will do, or how many they be in number. For they can consider only the affairs that concern them, and we likewise those that concern us. But if the Spartans come against the Persians to do battle, they will scarcely be able to repair the disaster with which they are afflicted this day.'

- 237 And Xerxes thus made answer to him: 'Thou seemest to speak wisely, O Achaemenes, and I will do as thou sayest. But Demaratus indeed counsels those things which he thinks best for me, yet truly his opinion is overshadowed by thine. But never will I believe that he is not well disposed to mine affairs. For I have taken into consideration all his former words and the circumstances in which he now stands. Verily a citizen envieth another who is fortunate, and is ill-disposed towards him in secret. Nor would such a citizen tell his fellows, when they come to him to take counsel of him, those things which seemed best unto him, unless he was a man of exceeding great virtue, and such men are few. But between friends who are not of the same country, it is far otherwise; for a man seeing such a friend in prosperity showeth favour towards him, and counselleth him all the best that is in his heart. Therefore I proclaim to all men that henceforward all shall refrain from speaking aught that is evil against Demaratus, for he is my friend.'

- 238 Ταῦτα εἰπὼν Ξέρξης διεξήκει διὰ τῶν νεκρῶν, καὶ Λεωνίδου, ἀκηκοὺς ὅτι βασιλεὺς τε ἦν καὶ στρατηγὸς Λακεδαιμονίων, ἐκέλευσε ἀποτεμόντας τὴν κεφαλὴν
 2 ἀνασταυρῶσαι. δὴλὰ μοι πολλοῖς μὲν καὶ ἄλλοις τεκμηρίοις, ἐν δὲ καὶ τῷδε οὐχ ἥκιστα γέγονεν, ὅτι βασιλεὺς Ξέρξης πάντων δὴ μάλιστα ἀνδρῶν ἐθυμώθη ζῶντι Λεωνίδα· οὐ γὰρ ἂν ποτε ἐς τὸν νεκρὸν ταῦτα παρενόμησεν, ἐπεὶ τιμᾶν μάλιστα νομίζουσιν ὧν ἐγὼ

οἶδα ἀνθρώπων Πέρσαι ἀνδρας ἀγαθοὺς τὰ πολέμια.
οἱ μὲν δὴ ταῦτα ἐποιοῦν, οἷς ἐπετέτακτο ποιεῖν. ἀνείμι 239
δὲ ἐκεῖσε τοῦ λόγου ἢ μοι τὸ πρότερον ἐξέλιπεν.
ἐπύθοντο Λακεδαιμόνιοι ὅτι βασιλεὺς στέλλοιτο ἐπὶ
τὴν Ἑλλάδα πρῶτοι, καὶ οὕτω δὴ ἐς τὸ χρηστήριον τὸ
ἐς Δελφοὺς ἀπέπεμψαν, ἔνθα δὴ αὐτοῖς ἐχρήσθη ἃ
ὀλίγῳ πρότερον εἶπον· ἐπύθοντο δὲ τρόπῳ θαυμασίῳ.
Δημάρατος γὰρ ὁ Ἀρίστωνος φυγὼν ἐς Μήδους, ὡς 2
μὲν ἐγὼ δοκῶ, καὶ τὸ εἰκὸς ἐμοὶ συμμαχεται, οὐκ ἦν
εὖνους Λακεδαιμονίοις, πάρεστι δὲ εἰκάζειν εἴτε εὐνοία
ταῦτα ἐποίησεν εἴτε καὶ καταχαίρων· ἐπεὶ γὰρ Ξέρξης
ἔδοξε στρατηλατεῖν ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα, ὣν ἐν Σούσοις ὁ
Δημάρατος καὶ πυθόμενος ταῦτα ἠθέλησε Λακεδαιμο-
νίοις ἐξαγγεῖλαι. ἄλλως μὲν δὴ οὐκ εἶχε σημήναι· 3
ἐπικίνδυνον γὰρ ἦν μὴ ληφθεῖν· ὁ δὲ μηχανᾶται τοιάδε·
δελτίον δίπτυχον λαβὼν τὸν κηρὸν αὐτοῦ ἐξέκνησε καὶ
ἔπειτα ἐν τῷ ξύλῳ τοῦ δελτίου ἔγραψε τὴν βασιλέως
γνώμην, ποιήσας δὲ ταῦτα ὀπίσω ἐπέτηξε τὸν κηρὸν
ἐπὶ τὰ γράμματα, ἵνα φερόμενον κενὸν τὸ δελτίον μηδὲν
πρᾶγμα παρέχοι πρὸς τῶν ὁδοφυλάκων. ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ 4
ἀφίκετο ἐς τὴν Λακεδαίμονα, οὐκ εἶχον συμβαλέσθαι
οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι, πρὶν γε δὴ αὐτοῖς, ὡς ἐγὼ πυνθάνομαι,
Κλεομένους μὲν θυγάτηρ, Λεωνίδου δὲ γυνὴ Γοργῶ
ὑπέθετο ἐπιφρασθεῖσα αὐτῇ, τὸν κηρὸν ἐκκνᾶν κελεύουσα,
καὶ εὐρήσειν αὐτοὺς γράμματα ἐν τῷ ξύλῳ. πειθόμενοι
δὲ εὗρον καὶ ἐπελέξαντο, ἔπειτα δὲ τοῖς ἄλλοις Ἑλλησιν
ἐπέστειλαν. ταῦτα μὲν δὴ οὕτω λέγεται γενέσθαι.

NOTES

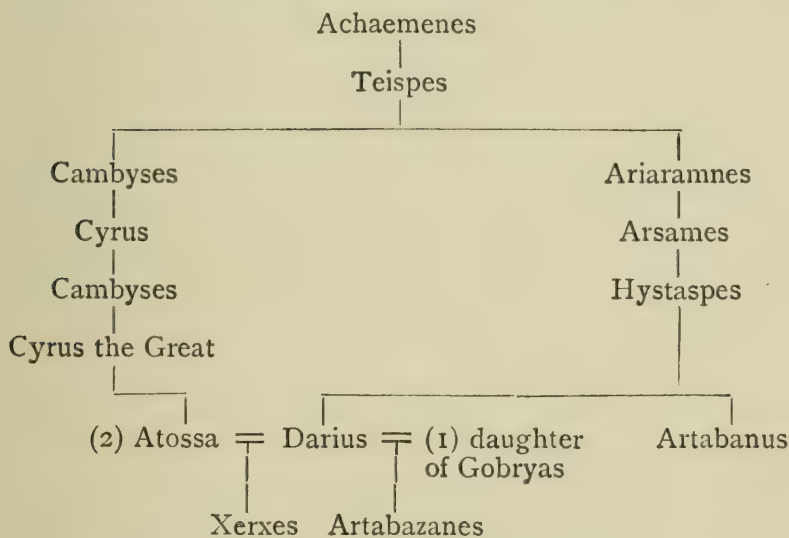
BOOK VII

1. 1. πρίν: used adverbially. κεχαραγμένον, 'being vexed' or 'indignant'; from χαράσσω, 'sharpen', 'engrave'; hence χαρακτήρ, and our 'character'.

2. ναῦς, 'warships', to be distinguished from πλοῖα, 'transports'. ἔδονεῖτο, 'was abuzz': an onomatopoeic word. παρασκευαζομένων: coupled by καί to καταλεγομένων.

2. 1. King in his stead. There is no evidence of any fixed law with regard to such an appointment, but it was in accordance with the principle that Cyrus named Cambyses as his successor before his expedition against the Massagetae.

The genealogy of the Persian kings is as follows:



The left-hand column gives the royal line of the Achae-menidae.

5. 1. Darius died in 486 B. C. on the way to quell the Egyptian revolt. παρών, 'who was at the court'. δυνάμενος, 'having power'. For this use of δύναμαι cf. *possum*, *potens*. ἀνεψιός, 'cousin'. τοιούτου λόγου εἶχετο, λέγων, 'took up his parable

and said'. ἔχομαι, 'take hold of', is followed by the gen. as ἄπτομαι is.

2. ὧν: i.e. τούτων . . . ᾧ: Relative Attraction. μή οὐ: used to negative an infin. when the verb on which it depends (here οὐκ εἰκός ἐστιν) is negated. φυλάσσεται, 'be on his guard against'.

3. οὗτος refers to what has come before, τήνδε to what follows. τιμωρός, 'revengeful'. δένδρα. The Persians took great pride in cultivating fruit-trees and laying out gardens: cf. ch. 31, where Xerxes honours a fine plane-tree. ἀρετήν refers to the excellence of the soil. βασιλεῖ . . . κεκτῆσθαι: i.e. ἀξία κεκτῆσθαι βασιλεῖ μόνῳ θνητῶν.

6. 1. οἷα: equivalent to ἅτε (with participle) expressing cause. χρόνῳ, 'after a while'. συνέλαβε. The subject is ἄλλα. Note the sing. verb after a neuter plural subject.

2. Ἀλευάδαι. The Aleuadae were a famous family of Thessaly, supposed to be descended from the mythical King Aleuas, and therefore called kings, though they could not rightly claim that title. They were rather the rulers or dynasts of Larissa on the Peneus, and ταγοί, or chieftains, of Thessaly. They were great patrons of art and learning. They wished to extend their power over the whole of Thessaly and to rule as its kings, and they no doubt hoped to do so by Persian aid. They were foiled in their attempt, but escaped complete subjection to Sparta. Πεισι-στρατίδαι ruled Athens from 560 to 510 B.C.: see Introduction. On his expulsion Hippias retired to Sigeum in the Troad; he took a prominent part in the Marathon expedition and was always trying to set Persia against Athens. οἱ ἀναβεβηκότες ἐς Σοῦσα: Hippias and his supporters. προσωρέγοντο = 'plied him'.

3. διαθέτην, 'interpreter'. Μουσαῖον: Musaeus, a mythical poet and priest, to be classed with Olen, Orpheus, and Pamphus. According to some legends he was the son of Orpheus. ἔχθραν: the quarrel between Onamaceritus and the Peisistratidae. Λάσου: Lasus, a lyric and dithyrambic poet. He is said to have been the teacher of Pindar, and to have written a treatise on music.

4. ὅπως, 'whenever'; indefinite. ἔνιοι (ἔστιν οἱ), 'some'. ὥς is out of its order and should come after ἔλεγεν. ἐξηγούμενος is regularly used for expounding oracles. It agrees with the subject of ἔλεγεν, Onomaceritus.

9. 2. Ἰνδοῦς: the Punjaub, conquered by Darius. ἀδικήσαντα, an accusative, is a false parallel to ἀλλὰ δύναμιν προσκτᾶσθαι βουλόμενοι, a nominative, and balances it. One is the supposed, and the other the real, reason.

a. ἐπιστάμεθα is repeated for rhetorical purposes.

a. 2. ἐπειράθην (deponent), 'I have made trial of': cf. *experior*. ὀλίγον ἀπολιπόντι . . . ἀφικέσθαι: *minimum abfuit quin veniret*.

β. πολέμους ἵστασθαι, 'to start wars'. ὑπό, 'from sheer . . .'

This was very true of Greek warfare; the Greeks always fought according to rules, and, whenever those rules were broken, the breakers usually won, e.g. at Leuktra and Pylos, and by attacking during breakfast, &c. ἀρχήν + neg., 'not at all', is common in Hdt.

2. χρῆν, 'the really sensible course was'. παντί, 'in every way': sc. τρόπον. ἧ, 'wherein'. πειρᾶν: *tentare*. οὐκ ἦλθον κτλ., 'never came even to thinking of fighting'. γ. ἀπείρατον (pass.), 'untried', 'unattempted'. φιλεῖ, 'are wont'.

10. 1. Gold was tried by rubbing on the touch-stone, on which pure gold left a dark stain. δ. νῦν, 'for the present'. ἐπὶ σεαυτοῦ, 'by yourself'.

2. τύχη, 'good luck'. ἐπίσποιτο: from ἐφέπομαι.

ε. τὰ . . ζῶα ὥς: cf. οἶδά σε ὅστις εἶ, 'I know thee who thou art'. A common Greek idiom by which the subject of the indirect sentence is made object of the main verb. τὰ τοιαῦτα refers to μέγιστα. κατὰ τοιόνδε, 'on this principle', refers to what follows. δι' οὖν ἐφθάρησαν: an instance of Tmesis, a common figure of speech in which the preposition is separated from its verb, usually by a particle.

11. 2. For genealogical tree see chap. 2. Herodotus was very fond of genealogy, and gives a man's descent wherever he can.

12. 1. μετά: adverbial. εἰφρόνη, 'evening': *lit.* 'the kindly time'. A euphemism, like Euxine, and Lat. Beneventum. πρᾶγμα, 'worth while', 'advantageous': cf. 'good business'.

2. μετὰ δὴ βουλεύει: Tmesis, as in chap. 10. ε. πάρα: for πάρεστι; note the difference of accent from that of the preposition. ταύτην ἴθι τῶν ὁδῶν, 'take that of the two roads'.

13. 2. ἀγχίστροφα: derived from ἄγχι and στρέφω. πρῶτα, 'the full measure'. ἡ χρεών does not go with πρεσβύτερον. Xerxes must have been quite thirty-five years old; he was probably born after Darius's accession in 521, and in 479 he had a grown-up son.

3. ὥς . . μεταδεδογμένον. The accusative absolute with or without ὥς is common with impers. verbs or passives used impersonally, e.g. παρόν, δέον, &c.

14. 1. φαίνει. Distinguish between φαίνομαι εἶναι, 'I appear to be'; φαίνομαι ὦν, 'I obviously am'. ἀνασχῆσει: a neuter verb, used of the sun rising.

15. 1. ἀνά τε ἔδραμεν: Tmesis.

3. ὁμοίως καί, 'like as'. For this use of καί cf. Latin *simul atque*. The king wore a special upright tiara and saffron-coloured shoes. His mantle and trousers were purple, and also his robe, on which were embroidered white hawks or falcons, birds sacred to Ormuzd. His robe was girt with a golden girdle, and from it hung a sword set with precious stones.

16. 1. As it was a capital offence to sit on the king's throne,

Artabanus might well hesitate before doing so, even at the king's order. The throne was a high-backed chair of simple design.

18. Putting out the eyes was a very common punishment in the East, of which Samson's fate is a well-known example.

20. The chronology of the ten years between Marathon and Salamis is probably as follows :

490. Marathon. Preparations for another expedition.

489-488. Preparations continued.

487. Revolt of Egypt.

486. Death of Darius.

485. Reduction of Egypt by Xerxes. Preparations renewed.

484

483 } Preparations against Greece continued.
482 }

481. Xerxes begins his march from Critalla.

480. (Spring). Xerxes marches from Sardis. (Autumn). Salamis.

2. Note how Herodotus loves 'records' of any kind. Darius made an expedition against the Scythians in 515; he bridged the Bosphorus and crossed the Danube by a bridge of boats, leaving his fleet behind. It was only through the action of Histiaeus the Milesian that the bridge was not broken by the Ionians under Miltiades, and his army cut off. The Cimmerian invasion of Asia Minor is certainly historical, and so is the invasion of Upper Asia by the Scyths, nomads from the Oxus region, in the reign of Cyaxares. But in speaking of the pursuit of the Cimmerians by the Scyths of Europe, Herodotus has probably mixed up the two events. **The Ionian Sea:** just south of the Adriatic, named according to legend after the fugitive Io. She was the daughter of Inachus, first king of Argos, and was loved by Zeus, who changed her into a white heifer owing to Hera's jealousy. Hermes, at the command of Zeus, slew Argus, who was guarding Io, but Hera sent a gadfly which drove her everywhere until she found rest on the banks of the Nile.

23. 1. The existence of this canal was regarded as an entire fiction by Juvenal, who is evidently quoting an ancient tradition. Its existence is, however, vouched for by Aelian (*Varia Hist.*) and Propertius. Many modern investigators have found distinct traces of it, and marked its course with great care, but their accounts bristle with inconsistencies.

2. καταρρηγνύμενοι οἱ κρημνοί, 'the falling-in of the sides'. ἄτε, 'considering that', is used with the participle like καίπερ. Hdt. also uses οἷα in this way: cf. 6. 1 note. ποιουμένων: genitive absolute.

4. πολλὸν ἐφόϊτα, 'was imported in large quantities': cf. Lat. *frequens venit*.

24. The practice of dragging ships overland was common in Greece, e.g. by the Diolcus, the path along which ships were dragged across the isthmus of Corinth.

26. **Marsyas** was connected with the earliest music and lived in Phrygia. He challenged Apollo to a musical contest with the Muses as umpires, and being beaten he was flayed alive; his blood was the source of the river Marsyas.

27. 1. **Pythius** was probably the grandson of Croesus, king of Lydia.

2. **The golden plane-tree and the golden vine** were both said to have been the work of Theodorus the Samian. The vine was large, and overshadowed the king's couch, and the bunches of grapes were made of emeralds and carbuncles. The plane-tree, on the other hand, was probably small, for it is described by Antiochus, the Arcadian, an envoy to Susa, as hardly large enough to shade a grasshopper!

28. 2. **ταλάντων**. The calculation would probably be made in Babylonian talents (worth approx. £243 15s.), and this would make the 2,000 talents roughly £500,000. The stater and the daric were the two chief gold coins of Greece and Persia respectively, and were both worth about £1 2s., though probably only representing silver to the amount of 16s. 3d. This would bring the whole fortune up to £4,000,000 approx. The richest citizen in Athens had but £510,000. **δωροῦμαι**. Note the accusative of the person and cf. the use of *dono* followed by the acc. in Latin.

29. 1. **ἐξήλθον τὴν Περσίδα**. The genitive would be more usual here. **ἕς τόδε**, 'up to now'.

2. **ἀντὶ αὐτῶν**, 'in return for your offer'. **ξένον**. In these formal expressions of friendship between persons of unequal rank there seems to be the germ of modern titles, esp. that of Count, which is a corruption of *Comes*. **ἀπαρτιλογία**, 'a round sum' (**ἀπαρτί**, 'completely', and **λόγος**, 'calculation').

3. **κέκτησο**, 'continue to possess'. Note the use of the perfect, meaning 'to be in a state or condition'. **ἐπίστασο**, 'know how to', i.e. 'have the sense to'. So in Latin *scio* is followed by the infin. **τοιοῦτος**, 'such as you are at present'. **ἕς χρόνον**, 'hereafter'.

31. **Tamarisk**. This tree abounded near Callatebus. The 'honey' was made by thickening the tamarisk syrup with flour. **One of his Immortals**. Either a member of the Immortal band, a body of 10,000 picked troops, so called because whenever a man died or fell out, another was ready to take his place: or else, since it does not seem likely that one of these was appointed, a guardian who, on the analogy of the Immortal band, had always a successor ready to take his post.

33. **Protesilaus** of Thessaly was the first of the Greeks to set foot on Trojan soil during Agamemnon's expedition against

Troy. He was immediately slain by Hector, according to prophecy; v. Tennyson's poem, 'Laodamia'. Artaÿctes also by unfair means took Protesilaus' treasures and ploughed up his sacred land.

35. 1. ἐφικέσθαι μάστιγι : equivalent to μαστιγῶσαι, and is here followed by two accusatives, one of the punishment, the other of the recipient. ἐφικέσθαι usually takes the genitive.

2. Ποταμῷ. 'The Hellespont, perfectly landlocked and with a stream running some three knots an hour, presents to a person who is sailing on it altogether the appearance of a "river"'. —Blakesley. Many discredit the account of Xerxes' punishment of the Hellespont. But such childishness was common in those days; e.g. Cyrus punished the river Gyndes by dividing it into 360 channels. The punishment of inanimate objects was also common in antiquity.

36. At an angle to the Euxine, but with the stream of the Hellespont. Grundy's view about the meaning of this passage is almost certainly correct. The current of the Hellespont at this point runs obliquely from shore to shore owing to a bend higher up. He believes that the boats of the eastern bridge were slewed round so that their keels lay along the line of the current. They were thus at an angle to the Euxine. The Greek word (ἐπικαρσίας) is often used, however, to mean 'at right-angles'.

37. It has been proved that no eclipse was visible at Sardis in 480. It is possible that the annular eclipse visible in 478 was connected by the Persians with the disastrous expedition, and so erroneously ante-dated. An eclipse would naturally be regarded as a great omen. The Magi were a Median tribe among whom divination and soothsaying were hereditary (cf. the Levites). For their revolt see Historical Introduction, p. 14. Although many of them were killed on that occasion, some still continued to expound oracles, omens, &c.

39. 1. πανοικίᾳ, 'with all your house'.

2. οὐ καυχῆσῃ, 'you shall not boast'. Note the future, ζῆμιώσῃ : fut. mid. with passive sense.

3. οἷς : i. e. ἐκείνους . . . οἷς.

40. The guards preceding the king kept their spear-heads lowered as a sign of respect. Zeus : Ormuzd, the supreme deity of the Persians, god of the sun, creator of all good and of the human race. He was thought to be always at war with Ahriman, the god of darkness and of all evil.

43. The Scamander has a bed 200–300 feet broad, and yet in the dry season is reduced to a brook of only three feet in depth. Therefore it may easily have failed to supply good water for the whole host.

45. ἐδάκρυσεν, 'burst into tears' : aorist expressing sudden action.

46. 1. πολὺ ἀλλήλων κεχωρισμένα forms one phrase and is the object of εἰργάσω. εἰργάσω : momentary aorist. ἀλλήλων : gen. of separation after κεχωρισμένα.

2. ὥς, 'how'. εἰ, 'seeing that'.

3. παραστήσεται governs ᾧ: *lit.* 'it will not stand by the side of', and so 'it will not happen' or 'occur'.

4. γλυκὺν γεύσας τὸν αἰῶνα, 'having given a taste of the sweetness of life'. γεύω is transitive, γεύομαι, 'I taste', intrans. The idea of Nemesis and divine φθόνος, or jealousy, runs all through the story of Herodotus; though this typically Greek idea is here put into the mouth of a man who worships the Persian gods, and is therefore out of place.

54. 1. τὸν ἥλιον: Mithra, the God of the Rising Sun, and one of the most important of the lesser gods of good. He seems sometimes to have been identified with, and sometimes distinguished from, Ormuzd, the sun-god. See chap. 40. His cult became extremely popular in the later days of the Roman Empire, and was at one time a rival to Christianity itself.

2. παύσει καταστρέφασθαι. This constr. of παύω and the infinitive in the sense of 'to prevent' is rare in Attic. Distinguish it from the common use of παύομαι with a participle, 'stop doing' a thing. ἀκινάκη: a short straight sword about a foot long, used for thrusting.

3. οὐκ ἔχω + infinitive means: 'I have not (the power)', 'I am not able' to.

56. 1. ἐλινύσας: a poetic word meaning 'to take a rest'.

2. ἀνάστατον means (1) 'driven from house and home'; (2) 'dispeopled', 'deserted', so 'destroyed in war', as here; (3) 'in confusion'.

57. 1. As the portents are physically impossible, the whole story is obvious fiction.

58. 2. The tomb of Helle: probably near Pactya, where according to one legend she died. The more usual tradition is that she fell into the Hellespont.

59. 1. For the Scythian Expedition see chap. 20 note.

2. Zonê: famous as the place where Orpheus charmed the trees.

Cicones. The land of the Cicones was the first reached by Odysseus on leaving Troy; v. *Od.* ix. 39, where they are described as a flourishing tribe.

60. The ancients were quite incapable of estimating any large number, and give most improbable results, as Froissart does in his Chronicles. The huge numbers and the curious and cumbrous method of counting make the story very unlikely, and the numbering and organization of the whole army cannot have been put off so long. See Appendix on pp. 132-3.

1. ἐς ἀριθμόν, 'to be numbered'.

2. ἐς τὸν ὀμφαλόν, 'about as high as the waist'.

61. 1. πῖλους ἀπαγεῖς, 'soft hats'. These were round-topped

caps projecting at the top a little over the brows. χιτῶνας
 κτλ., 'sleeved tunics of many colours', can hardly be the same
 as cuirasses; therefore it is highly probable that some words
 like καὶ θώρακας, 'cuirasses', have dropped out. The whole of
 the upper part of the body was protected by a coat-of-mail, but
 of such a kind as not to prevent the drawing of the bow; the
 lower part was protected by the huge shield fixed in the ground.
 ὑπὸ δὲ . . . πρὸς δέ. Note adverbial use of prepositions. ἀναξυ-
 ρίδας, 'trousers'. They were apparently wide enough to have
 pockets. These garments were also worn by Scythians and
 Sacans, and in later times by the Gauls.

100. It is thought that Herodotus may have compiled his
 exhaustive account of the army from the army lists here men-
 tioned, which may have fallen into Greek hands after the battle
 of Plataea.

103. By thine own country's customs. This is perhaps a
 reference to the Spartan custom of setting before the king
 a double share of the victim when they were invited to a sacri-
 fice, and a double portion at feasts; double service might there-
 fore be expected of them.

106. The whole passage proves that Mascames died in pos-
 session of Doriscus, but that it was afterwards lost to Persia. It
 was probably taken by the Thracians. Mascames must have
 died after Artaxerxes' succession (465). This fact shows how
 long after 479 the Persians retained their hold on the Thracian
 districts, despite the efforts of the Greeks under Pausanias and
 others to dislodge them.

107. 1. ἐξαιρεθέντων. ἀλίσκομαι would be more usual; the
 pass. of αἰρέω usually means 'be chosen', here 'be driven out'.
 Ἡϊόνος: on the Strymon (mod. Struma). The taking of Eion
 475 (spring) was the first success of the allies after the leader-
 ship had been transferred from Sparta to Athens. Pausanias
 viii. 8. 5 says that Cimon took it by diverting the river
 Strymon against the walls, and they, being made of sun-dried
 brick, gave way; but this is probably a later tradition. It was
 almost certainly starved out. παρόν: accusative absolute.
 μὴ δειλία κτλ. The datives have become transposed and the
 sentence should logically run, βασιλεῖ δόξειε δειλία περιεῖναι.
 δειλία: instrumental dative.

2. ἐς τόδε, 'up to this time'. Such desperate acts of devotion
 were not rare. Sardanapalus did the same deed when he was
 shut up in Nineveh.

111. The Bessi were a race of mountain robbers, their country
 stretching from Rhodope to the Illyrian frontier. Deliver
 the oracles (προφητεύειν): this was done by priests or officials
 who took down the words which fell from the mouth of the
 inspired 'prophet' (πρόμαντις) and 'edited' them for the benefit
 of the inquirers. This was the order of procedure at Delphi

also, where the Pythia uttered the divine message in an ecstasy or trance, and it was put into verse by the *προφήται*. Herodotus is at some pains to point out that the oracle of Dionysus followed methods no more mysterious than those employed at Delphi. As a true Greek, he is jealous of Delphi's reputation.

112. Pieria is the legendary home of the Muses. **Gold and silver.** The whole region was rich in precious metals. Aristotle says that after heavy rains nuggets were found over a pound in weight, and the mines at one time yielded over a talent of silver a day.

113. 2. The offering of a horse is genuinely Persian, and running water was sacred; but Strabo says, 'When the Persians come to a stream, they dig a pit and there sacrifice their victim, taking care that the pure water near them be not stained with the blood, since that would be pollution.' It would seem then, if that is right, that the Magi are following local and not Persian custom.

114. 1. καὶ ἄλλα πολλά, 'and many other mystic rites'. The Nine Roads is the site of Amphipolis, built by the Athenians in 437 B.C. *τοσούτους: ἐννέα.*

2. This barbarity was known as 'tree-planting', and was practised in Persia until recent times. *τῷ . . . θεῷ*; Ahriman, god of death, and of the underworld, the opponent of Ormuzd, the sun-god. Perhaps, however, Hdt. is merely attributing the religious beliefs of Greece to Persians. *ἀντιχαρίζεσθαι* is the main verb.

115. Aristotle, the great Greek philosopher, pupil of Plato and tutor of Alexander the Great, was born at Stagirus.

116. A present of Median garments was considered a great honour. Gifts of raiment were common in the East, as we see in the story of Naaman and Gehazi.

117. 1 royal cubit = 27 δάκτυλοι (fingers) = $20\frac{1}{2}$ in. 1 ordinary cubit = 24 δάκτυλοι = 18 in. Therefore Artachaeus was just under 8 ft. 4 in.

118. 1 Euboic talent = £244 (approx.). Therefore the sum is about £100,000.

119. 3. ὅπως, 'whenever'. This use of ὅπως for ὅποτε, esp. with opt. of indefinite frequency, is common in Hdt., and is also found in Homer and Attic poetry. *σταθμόν*, 'the end of a stage', *lit.* 'a coming to a standstill' (*ἵσσημι*); *tr.* 'he took up his quarters'.

120. 1. τὸ λοιπόν, 'for the future'. *ἀπαμύνειν*: ἀμύνω takes the dative of the person benefited and the acc. of the person or thing warding off. ἀμύνομαι means 'avenge'. χάριν ἔχειν, 'to give thanks': Lat. *gratias agere*.

2. παρέχειν ἄν: *lit.* 'it would have lain before them', i.e. 'it would have been their fate'. παρέχει usually means 'it is possible'. ἕμμοια, 'on the same scale'.

121. 1. **Therma** was a place of small importance until under Cassander, the brother-in-law of Alexander, it became Thessalonica in 305 B.C., and grew into the most important city in those parts. The great Egnatian Road connected it with Dyrrachium. It is the modern Salonika, and the part it played in the Great War has done nothing to decrease its fame.

125. ἐκεραίζον, 'they made their prey'. The word is also used of ravaging dwellings, disabling ships, and carrying off plunder.

126. λέοντες . . . καὶ βόες ἄγριοι. Wild bulls and lions are mentioned by Aristotle in this district, the lions between the very same limits; but Dio Chrysostom says that by A.D. 120 lions had disappeared from Europe. The wild bulls may be either the 'bonasi' of Aristotle, which had manes and short, thick, black horns, curved, and with a span of about nine inches; or else the aurochs, the 'uri' of Caesar, which had immense horns of great width. τῆς ἔμπροσθεν Εὐρώπης, 'the fore-part of Europe'. This is probably an indication that this part of the work was written in Asia; to an Asiatic alone would this part of Europe be the fore-part.

128. **Olympus** and **Ossa** are both visible from Therma on a clear day and present a wonderful appearance; the former is about 9,000, the latter about 6,000 feet in height. Olympus is the highest mountain in Greece, and snow-covered during a great deal of the year; but Ossa is much more beautiful and striking in appearance. It is a conical peak, with thickly wooded slopes and a summit often capped with snow. The vale of **Tempe** is one of the most beautiful places in Greece; the Peneus flows deep between precipitous cliffs, and is overshadowed by fine plane woods. The cliffs themselves are very lofty and covered with creepers and foliage.

129. Mount **Pelion** lies about forty miles south-east of Ossa, but their bases do join, as Herodotus says; it is about 5,300 feet high, and is thickly wooded with all kinds of trees. In the whole description Herodotus is extremely accurate, and it shows that he had a wide knowledge of physical geography and geology.

130. **Sons of Aleuas**: see chap. 6 note.

132. **Exact a tithe.** The word (δεκατεῦσαι) cannot mean this here, the punishment is too mild. It is, however, also used of the dedication to the god of a tenth of booty won in war. The oath therefore probably means that the medizing cities would be sacked and spoiled, and a tenth of the booty given to the god.

133. 1. τὸ βάραθρον, or the 'pit of punishment', at Athens was a deep pit, like a well, into which criminals were thrown. It had iron hooks inserted in the sides.

2. ἀνεθέλητον. Pausanias says that in the case of Athens the divine vengeance fell on Miltiades and his family, since he was the author of the proposal.

134. 1. Heralds were held inviolate in Greece; therefore Talthybius, as the patron and protector of heralds, would naturally resent any outrage on their inviolability, and so the cause of the misfortunes could be traced to him. Besides the profession of heralds, those of flute-players and cooks were hereditary at Sparta (vi. 60). *μῆνις*: here in the strict sense of 'divine anger'.

2. *καλλιερῆσαι*, 'work out favourably'.

135. The office of the *στρατηγός*, who controlled the military forces of the province, was distinct from that of satrap, though the two were sometimes held by the same man.

136. 1. *ἐπὶ κεφαλῇν*: to be taken with *ᾠθούμενοι*, 'even if their heads were pushed down'. *κατὰ ταῦτα*, 'for that purpose'.

2. *ὑπὸ μεγαλοφροσύνης*, 'from magnanimity'. *συγχέαι*: aor. infin. act. of *συγχέω*. *ταῦτα*: the antecedent, though it follows the relative.

137. **Tiryns.** Thucydides says that at the beginning of the Peloponnesian war the Spartans captured the trading-ships, not only of their enemies, but of neutrals. This evidently happened in this case, for Tiryns, an Argive town, took no part in the war. This striking example of Nemesis would naturally impress Herodotus, and induce him to bring it into his story. The incident did not take place until 430 B.C.

139. 1. *ἤ*, 'in so far as'.

3. *τειχῶν χιτῶνες*: *lit.* 'defences in the shape of walls'. *χιτῶν* means a covering of any kind. *Πελοποννησίοις*: dat. of agent after a perfect passive. *κατὰ πόλεις*, 'city by city'. Note the distributive use of *κατά*: cf. *καθ' ἡμέραν*, 'day by day'.

4. *ἄν* is superfluous and merely warns that another *ἄν* is coming later: cf. the repetition of *ἄν* at the beginning of § 5. *πρὸ τοῦ*, 'beforehand'. *ὁμολογία ἂν ἐχρήσαντο*, 'they would have come to terms'. *ἐπ' ἀμφότερα*, 'in either case'. *τὴν ὠφέλειαν . . . ἥτις ἂν ᾖ*: cf. 10. ε.

5. *ῥέψειν*: a metaphor from balances, 'to drag down (the scale)'. *αὐτοὶ οὗτοι ἦσαν οἱ ἐπεγείραντες καί*, 'it was they who raised up . . . and who . . .'. *ἡνέσχοντο*, 'put up with', 'tolerate'. This chapter brings out how pro-Athenian Herodotus was. It was probably written shortly after the beginning of the Peloponnesian war, when Athens was very unpopular in Greece.

141. **The land of Cecrops**: Attica, of which country Cecrops was the mythical founder. The inconsistencies between this oracle and the one in chapter 140 are quite irreconcilable unless some intimidation at Delphi is assumed. The best theory is that of Grundy. He holds that the first oracle expressed the real view of Delphi, namely, that the whole expedition was directed solely against Athens, and that if the Athenians migrated Greece would be spared an invasion. The Spartans, however, felt that the Athenian fleet was essential for the defence of the

Peloponnese, and brought pressure to bear on Delphi. Hence the second oracle. The allusion to Salamis was interpolated by the Delphians in an attempt to restore their shaken prestige.

142. A palisade. At this time there was only one temple on the Acropolis; the whole was surrounded by this wooden palisade.

143. The life of Themistocles, one of the most brilliant men that Athens ever produced, was shortly as follows :

- 523. Born. He owed little to birth or parentage; his father, Neocles, was not of the highest class, and his mother was a Carian woman.
- 493. Becomes Archon Eponymus, and begins the building of Peiraeus.
- 490. Fought in command of his tribe at Marathon.
- 483. Carried through a decree for the building of the great navy.
- 471. Became unpopular, and was banished from Athens.
- 467. Flight from Argos. Goes to Susa and receives a pension from Artaxerxes.
- 459-458. Death. The tradition goes that he poisoned himself, because he could not fulfil his promise of subduing Hellas. It has been suspected that Themistocles contrived these oracles by bribery at Delphi, and did not merely expound them. Considering his reputation for slim tactics, he would not be likely to omit such a chance.

1. νεωστὶ παριών, 'who had lately come to the front'. οὐκ ἂν οὕτω κτλ. The logical order is δοκεῖν οὐκ ἂν χρησθῆναι οὕτω ἡπίως εἰ τὸ ἔπος εἰρημένον ὄντως εἶχεν ἐς Ἀθηναίους. τὸ ἔπος εἰρημένον, 'the utterance of the lines'. Distinguish from τὸ εἶρ. ἔπος, 'the uttered lines'. ὄντως, 'really'. εἶχεν ἐς, 'referred to'. χρῶμαι here means 'to make an oracular statement'. A common use.

2. τῷ θεῷ: dative of the agent. συλλαμβάνοντι κατὰ τὸ ὀρθόν, 'to a person taking it rightly'. So Tacitus has *in univ-
ersum aestimanti*. τούτου: the fleet.

3. ταύτη: sc. ὁδῷ. τὸ σύμπαν εἰπεῖν, 'in a word'. For this use of the infinitive cf. ὡς ἔπος εἰπεῖν, 'so to speak'.

144. Laureium: at the extreme south-easterly point, or Land's End, of Attica. The mines there produced silver and lead in abundance, and were one of the chief sources of Athenian revenue at this time. The State leased them to private individuals for two or three years; these paid a lump sum down, and a percentage on their profits. The workings, in which only slaves were employed, consisted of galleries, whose roofs were supported by columns. Assuming the citizens to have numbered 30,000, the sum in the treasury would be over £12,000. Two

hundred ships: probably only the number aimed at; the ships were acquired by degrees. The Athenians had 70 ships after Marathon, and only 200 in 480 B.C. Also the sum voted would not have sufficed for 200 ships. **The war against Aegina.**

Athens and Aegina were often at war. In the first war (491) Aegina was overcome by Athens and Sparta. In the second, success rested with neither side, and the war resulted in a series of raids on both sides. Aegina did, however, fight against the Persians at Salamis.

145. This meeting in the autumn of 481 was probably held at the Isthmus, where in 480 (spring) both council and forces were assembled.

146. This chapter reveals the nobler side of Xerxes character, as did his treatment of Sperchias and Bulis.

3. ἐπιδείκνυσθαι means more than to show—‘to show off’.

147. 1. ἐπιλέγων τὸν λόγον τόνδε, ‘with this explanation’. εἰσίναντο. οἱ στρατηγοί must be understood as subject. πράγματα ἔχειν, ‘to take pains’, ‘be busy’.

2. πλοῖα ἐκ τοῦ Πόντου σιταγωγά. Athens and many other Greek states depended very much on their corn-supply from the countries round the Euxine. Thus the Peloponnesian War was ended when the route was cut by the Spartans after the victory at Aegospotami.

148. Argos never gave up her claim to the hegemony. She rested her claim on two facts in legendary tradition: (1) in the Trojan war Agamemnon had a widely extended sovereignty, and Argos claimed to succeed to his leadership; and (2) Argolis fell to Temenus, the eldest son of the Heraclid Aristomachus, when his sons cast lots for Greece. Lying as she did between the two great rivals Sparta and Athens, Argos made it her usual policy to play a neutral part. Sparta was her chief and nearest enemy; and to side openly with Athens would have exposed her too directly to a Spartan invasion.

150. 2. οὕτως ἂν . . . εἶημεν, ‘So on that score we should be . . .’: cf. the Scotch idiom, ‘Wad ye be . . .?’. κατὰ νοῦν, ‘as I expect’. μέizonas . . . ἄξω, ‘I will make of more account’: cf. Lat. *pluris facio* or *aestimo*.

3. πρᾶγμα ποιήσασθαι, ‘make much of’, ‘value highly’. παραχρήμα . . . οὐδὲν ἐπαγγελλομένους μεταίτείν, (‘it is said that) at the time they made no claim, but later, when they received the Greeks they made the claim (second μεταίτείν), knowing that . . .’. παραχρήμα: i.e. when the message was received from the Persians. παραλαμβάνειν. *Oratio obliqua* frequently invades subordinate clauses in Herodotus, hence the infinitive.

153-156. Omitted.

157. It is almost certain that there were negotiations with Gelo, but the account here is probably unhistorical.

158. Dorieus, the younger brother of Cleomenes, king of

Sparta, was frustrated in his ambitions by his brother's accession to the throne. He therefore left Sparta, and unsuccessfully tried to found a colony in Libya; then once more he set out with a few colonists to Sicily, but was defeated and slain by the Eggestaeans and Phoenicians.

159. ἦ κε μέγ' οἰμώξειεν . . . Ἀγαμέμνων. This is nearly a hexameter, and is an imitation of *Il.* vii. 125, where Nestor exclaims:—

ἦ κε μέγ' οἰμώξειε γέρων ἱππηλάτα Πηλεΐς.

κε, a Homeric form for ἄν. Agamemnon was king of Mycenae, and brother of Menelaus, king of Sparta. Mycenae later was confounded with the more important Argos, to which it became subject, and which claimed the Mycenaean sovereignty, *v.* ch. 148. When Sparta became head of the Peloponnese, the legend was conveniently changed, and Agamemnon was made to live and die at Amyclae or Sparta. ἄρξόμενος: used in a passive sense. δίκαιοις: a verb, from δικάω. For meaning cf. ἀξιώω.

160. 1. ἀπεστραμμένους, 'turned away', and so 'absolutely refusing', 'uncompromising', 'repellent'.

2. πολύ: adverbial. εἰ, 'supposing that'.

161. The only people who dwelt here aforetime: an exaggeration, as the Arcadians and Cynurians could make the same claim. At best it was of doubtful value, considering the shifting of population in early days. The best of all the captains: Menestheus: cf. *Il.* ii. 552.

162. 1. οὐκ ἂν φθάνοιτε τὴν ταχίστην: supply ὁδόν with ταχίστην, *lit.* 'you would not get home too quickly', i. e. 'the sooner you go the better'. ὅτι ἐκ τοῦ. This same simile is ascribed by Aristotle to Pericles in his funeral oration.

2. δῆλα: a variety of δῆλόν ἐστι. στερισκομένην κτλ., 'the loss of his alliance to Greece', not 'Greece deprived of his alliance'.

163. Cadmus, the son of Scythes. Scythes was the ruler of Zancle, but was driven out by Hippocrates, and took refuge with Darius. His son would probably be chosen for this mission owing to his father's friendly relations with Persia.

164. 1. πρότερον τούτων, 'before this time'. εὖ βεβηκυῖαν, 'in good order'; *lit.* 'on a sound footing'. βαίνω properly means to step or tread, being equivalent to *gradior*. ἐκών κτλ., 'He handed over the government fairly to the Coans, not because of any approaching danger, but willingly and through pure love of justice'. παρὰ Σαμίων. Cadmus had given up the government of Cos, which had been conferred on his father, Scythes, by Darius, in order to revisit his native Sicily. There he was persuaded by Anaxilas, tyrant of Rhegium, to try to retake Zancle. In this he succeeded with Anaxilas' aid, and drove out the Samians (490). But he himself was afterwards

driven out by Anaxilas, Gelo's rival, and Gelo was therefore glad to befriend him.

2. ἄλλην, 'in other respects'. ἐπί, 'in addition to'. παρόν: acc. absolute.

165. This is the first mention we have of the mixed mercenary armies of Carthage, with which she usually made her conquests. As the Phoenician population was small, she raised her troops from the neighbouring countries. Africa naturally furnished the greatest number.

166. συνέβη, 'it happened'. According to tradition the battles of Plataea and Mycale in 479 B.C. were also fought on the same day. The Greeks had a great liking for such coincidences. τὸ πᾶν ἐπεξελθεῖν διζήμενον, 'left no stone unturned in his search'.

167. 1. εἰκότι χρωμένων, 'who tell a likely tale'. λέγεται ἐλκύσαι: supply αὐτοὺς as subject, 'it is said that they dragged on' the conflict. ὅλα καθαγίζων. The Greeks, on the other hand, sacrificed only the thigh-bones of their victims with a little flesh on them. ἔωσεν ἑαυτόν. The story of Dido shows that self-sacrifice was common among the Carthaginians. Hero-worship, however, seems to have been unknown among them. Therefore it is probable that Herodotus has confused Hamilcar (Ebed-Melcart, 'servant of Melcart') with the actual god of the Carthaginians, Melkart, whose worship, as that of Moloch, is closely connected with such passing through the fire.

This battle was fought near Himera. According to Diodorus, Hamilcar, after losing his cavalry and chariots on the voyage in a storm, landed at Panormus. He then marched on to Himera, and after a victory besieged the town, which was defended by Thero. Gelo came to his aid with a large force, and on hearing that Hamilcar was expecting the arrival of some cavalry, sent his own to personate them. These troops slew Hamilcar and fired his fleet, while Gelo routed the Carthaginian main body, slaying 150,000. But this account is probably considerably exaggerated.

170-171. Omitted.

173. 1. Ἀχαιίας: the Achaia in Thessaly, whence Achilles came, not to be confused with the Achaia in the Peloponnese. Μακεδονίας τῆς κάτω, 'lower Macedonia', like 'Low Countries'; so we find below ἄνω, 'upper'.

2. κατὰ μυρίους, 'about 10,000'. ἐκ τῶν πολεμάρχων. The Polemarchs ranked next to kings at Sparta, and sat in their councils. They commanded between them the *morae*, or divisions of the army, of which there were six. It appears that they were usually of royal blood. δοκεῖν δέ μοι, 'but, as it seems to me'.

175. Narrower. While the average width of Tempe between Mount Ossa and the Peneus was 150 feet, Thermopylae was in two places so narrow that only one waggon could pass at

a time (chap. 176); but the actual pass itself by the Phocian wall was 50 feet wide.

176. West of Thermopylae. Herodotus has made a mistake: he supposes the trend of the coast to have been north and south at this point, whereas it is actually west and east; as Herodotus had visited the spot, it is a curious mistake for him to have made.

Marshland. The head of the Malian gulf has now receded about four miles, and marshes now separate the hill-side and the sea; they were formed by the alluvial deposit brought by the rivers rushing down from Callidromos. The hot springs are over 120° F. in temp. and salt; they rise on the side of Callidromos, and the stream is of a bright green colour. The 'cauldrons' were two baths which in ancient times were assigned to male and female bathers respectively.

To Heracles. The whole district round was the scene of many incidents in the life of Heracles, and of his death and apotheosis, which occurred on the summit of Mount Oeta. Hence the mountain was held sacred to him.

The Thessalians. This refers to the immigration of the Thessalians from Epirus, sixty years after the Trojan War, when they drove out the Boeotians and other Aeolic tribes.

178. Thyia was the daughter of Castalius or Cephissus; she is said to have been the first to sacrifice to Dionysus and to celebrate orgies in his honour.

179. παρέβαλε, 'ventured'; *intrans.* εὐθὺς Σκιάθου, 'straight for Sciathus'.

180. διαδέξιον ποιοῦμενοι κτλ., 'considering it a good omen that . . . they had taken . . .'. τάχα δ' ἄν τι κτλ., 'perhaps he had only his name to thank'. The Greeks believed in the influence of names over destinies, as e.g. 'Ajax', supposedly derived from αἶαι, 'alas', and therefore considered a sufficient reason for his unhappy end.

181. 1. ταύτην τὴν ἡμέραν, 'on that day'. ἐς τοῦτο, 'so long'. ἐς ὅ, 'until'.

2. περὶ πλείστου ἐποιήσαντο, 'made it of much account', i. e. 'thought it important'. σινδόνης βυσσίνης, 'bandages of linen cloth'. These appliances for treating wounds seemed remarkable to the Greeks, whose methods of surgery were crude.

182. The employment of fire-signals among the Greeks was very common. The Prologue of the *Agamemnon* of Aeschylus opens with a watchman waiting for the lighting of the beacons signifying the fall of Troy.

183-186. Vide Appendix on pp. 132-3.

187. κυνῶν Ἰνδικῶν: a breed of fine sporting dogs very popular with the Persian nobility. The satrap of Assyria kept such a large pack that the tribute of four large villages consisted in supplying food for them. ἔστιν ὧν (ἐνίων), 'some': cf. Lat. *sunt qui*. ὅπως τὰ κτλ. The logical order is θαῦμά ἐστί μοι ὅπως . . .

2. ἐφ' ἡμέρα ἐκάστη, 'per day'. 110,340 μεδίμνων. Herodotus, whose arithmetic has been perfectly accurate so far, here makes a mistake in division, and transposes his final remainder 340 with the quotient $67\frac{1}{2}$. For the Greeks, who used letters for numerical ciphers, even simple division sums presented some difficulty. The medimnus was the principal dry measure of the Greeks, and was used especially for measuring corn. It contained 48 choenices, and was the equivalent of 12 English gallons, or $1\frac{1}{2}$ bushels. The choenix was about 2 pints. This was a very small ration, and the minimum given even to slaves.

189. Erechtheus was both the ancestor and king of the Athenians. The legend goes that Orithyia was in the fields picking flowers when Boreas carried her off to his home in wintry Thrace, just as Hades seized Persephone, and that she bore him two sons there, Zetes and Callias, the Argonauts. Boreas. It is evident that the points of the compass were not fixed so precisely in Herodotus' day as in Pliny's, for he calls the same wind indifferently Boreas and Apeliotes (north and north-east).

190. οἱ ἐλαχίστας: sc. λέγουσι, *lit.* 'those who mention the least', i.e. 'who put it at the lowest figure'. χρημάτων, 'tackle'. θησαυρούς, 'treasure-chests'. So chests were found on the Irish coast after the Armada. The Persians recovered some of it by divers: cf. viii. 8. τὰλλα refers to the following sentence. τοῦτον: object of λυποῦσα. παιδοφόνος. The father had probably killed his son accidentally.

191. The legend of Thetis is as follows. She was unwilling to marry a mortal; but Peleus, instructed by Chiron, held her fast while she assumed all manner of shapes, including that of a cuttle-fish (σηπία, whence Cape Sepias), till she consented to marry him. She became the mother of Achilles. It was at their wedding that Eris threw in the ill-fated Apple of Discord.

193. 1. εὐθείαν ἔπλεον: sc. ὁδόν, 'sailed with a straight course'.

2. Ἡρακλέα. The common legend goes that he was left behind in Mysia looking for his beautiful friend Hylas, who had been stolen by the water-nymphs while drawing water.

194. 2. ὥς ταχύτερα . . ἢ σοφώτερα. In Greek and Latin, unlike English, two comparatives are used: cf. *libentius quam verius*.

3. διαφύγων ἔσεσθαι: a variant for διαφεύξεσθαι.

197. Ino . . Phrixus. The legend goes that Ino wished to destroy the children of Athamas and Nephelê, and caused a famine in the land by secretly roasting the seed-corn. And when Athamas consulted the oracle, she persuaded the messengers to send back word that Phrixus must be sacrificed to Zeus. Nephelê, however, saved Phrixus, and put him on a ram

with a golden fleece given by Hermes. He arrived safely at Colchis, and sacrificed the ram to Zeus, but gave the fleece to Aietes, king of Colchis. In later legends it is said that Helle started on the ram, but that she became giddy and fell into the Hellespont.

As a propitiation. Every year at Athens, on the festival of Thargelia, two men worthy of death were offered up as *φάρμακοί*, i. e. to make atonement for the people. This went on into quite late times, as we find in the *Frogs* of Aristophanes, though perhaps the victims were only put to death in times of plague, famine, or misfortune.

199. The **Asopus** now flows into the river Spercheius, instead of into the sea, since the coast has receded; the Spercheius now flows south through the marshes. But the Asopus still flows through the plain at the foot of the hills.

200. The **Phoenix** (Red River) is probably so called because it is of a red-brown colour, owing to the oxide of iron it contains. Amphictyonies were religious leagues of states possessing a common sanctuary: there were several both in Europe and Asia. But the Amphictyony which met at Thermopylae was the most famous of all. It consisted of the deputies of twelve states, and met twice a year, at Delphi in the spring and at Anthela near Thermopylae in the autumn. Its functions were mainly religious, and concerned the sanctuary of the Pythian Apollo, but it also dealt with the regulation of peace and war.

203. *ὃ κακὸν . . . οὐ συνεμίχθη, lit.* 'to whom misfortune was not mingled from his birth', i. e. not liable to misfortune from his birth.

204. Note Herodotus' love for genealogies. The two royal houses of Sparta dated from the earliest times. After the Dorian conquest of the Peloponnese, Sparta fell to the lot of Eurysthenes and Procles, the twin sons of the Heraclid Aristodemus. As neither of these could claim the sole kingship by seniority, in accordance with a Delphic oracle both were made kings, though a slight precedence was given to Eurysthenes and his descendants. From these two men the double kingship of Sparta continued in unbroken succession into historic times. There are hints that at one time a third royal house existed.

205. Cleomenes. After an eventful life Cleomenes went mad, and was shut up, but he managed nevertheless to put an end to his life. Three hundred was the usual royal guard. Leonidas seems to have realized the desperate nature of the enterprise, and therefore took with him fathers with male offspring, that no family might altogether die out.

206. The **Feast of Carneia** was held in the month of August in the Peloponnese in honour of Apollo Carneius, to whom the whole month was consecrated. The **Olympic festival** was celebrated at the time of the first full moon after the summer solstice, and lasted four days; it therefore usually

came before the Carneian festival. The games which took place during the festival were perhaps the greatest international institution in Greece.

208. οὔτε γὰρ . . . πολλῆς, 'nobody pursued him, and he met with great disregard'. Note the awkward change of subject.

209. 1. τὸ ὄν, 'that which really was', i. e. 'the truth'. ἀλλ' αὐτῷ . . . ποιεῖν, 'but they appeared to him to be doing a ridiculous thing'. Note φαίνομαι εἶναι, 'I appear to be'. See chap. 14.

2. γέλωτα, 'a laughing-stock'. ἦ περ ἑώρων, 'how I foresaw that', &c.

3. τὰς κεφαλὰς κοσμοῦνται. The Spartans still retained the ancient custom of wearing their hair long. Plutarch (*Lycurgus*) says: 'They let their hair therefore grow from their youth, but took care, when they expected an action, to have it combed and shining, remembering a saying of Lycurgus, that a large head of hair made the handsome more graceful, and the ugly more terrible.'

5. τοσούτοι, 'so few'. τοσούτος is used meaning both 'so many' and 'so few'. χρῆσθαι. The infinitive is here used as an imperative. This use is quite common: cf. *infra* chap. 228 ὃ ξεῖν' ἀγγέλλειν . . ., and the French 'ne pas se pencher au dehors', seen in railway carriages.

210. 2. Compare the meanings of ἄνθρωποι and ἄνδρες. ἄνθρωποι here means 'human beings', i. e. mere 'numbers', while ἄνδρες means 'brave men'. This is brought out in the adj. ἀνδρείος, 'brave'. δι' ἡμέρας, 'throughout the day'.

213. Pythagoræ: the deputies of the various states which composed the Amphictyonic League, for which see chap. 100, note.

216. Black Rump . . . Cercopians. The Cercopians were two humorous thievish dwarfs, who stole the arms of Herakles, while he was sleeping on the stone here named, and attacked him with them. Herakles was annoyed, and carried them off over his shoulder bound head downwards to a pole. In this position they roared with laughter at the hinder parts of Hercules, which had become tanned with continued exposure to the atmosphere, for they had been warned by an old prophecy to beware of a man of that complexion. Herakles asked the reason of their laughter, and was so amused by the tale that he let them go.

217. For the route taken by the Persians under Hydarnes see Map on p. 93.

2. ὑφ' ᾧν εἴρηται: i. e. ὑπὸ ἐκείνων περὶ ᾧν.

218. 1. νηνεμία, 'calm'. Deriv. from νη + ἄνεμος, 'no wind'. ἐνέδυνον τὰ ὄπλα, 'were beginning to arm'. The imperf. represents them still in the act of arming.

3. ἐβάλλοντο. The usual constr. of βάλλω is the acc. of the person aimed at and the dat. of the instrument. In the pass.

the acc. of the person naturally becomes the subject and the dative remains the same. ἀρχήν: used adverbially, meaning, 'at first' or 'originally'.

220. 1. μὴ ἀπόλωνται depends on κηδόμενος. ἀρχήν, 'expressly'. Their express purpose was that for which they had 'originally' set out. See chap. 218.

2. αὐτῷ δὲ ἀπέναι οὐ καλῶς ἔχειν. Supply a verb of thinking.

4. ἢ τὸ μὲν οὐχί is an adverbial accusative; *lit.* 'or when that is not', tr. 'or if not'. τόν, the obj. of σχήσει, refers to Xerxes, the subj. of ἔχει. διὰ . . . δάσσηται: *lit.* 'divide up'; tr. 'make a prey of'. An example of Tmesis. Λεωνίδαν depends on a verb of 'thinking' understood. ἀκόσμως: tr. 'contrary to orders'.

222. This remarkable conduct of the Thespians was perhaps caused by the hope of becoming, if they were successful, the head of the Boeotian confederacy.

223. 1. ἐς ἀγορᾶς . . . πληθῶραν. This was roughly between 9.0 and 11.0 a.m. ἐπισχὼν χρόνον, 'after a pause'.

3. παραχρῶμενοι: i.e. ἐκ παρέργου χρώμενοι, 'disregard'. Tr. 'regardless of their lives'. ἀτοῦντες (ἄτη, folly), 'reckless'.

224. In 440 B.C. the remains of Leonidas were removed to Sparta, and on his tomb there a pillar was set up inscribed with the names of the Three Hundred. There Pausanias, and probably Herodotus, read their names.

2. Abrocomes and Hyperanthes. The sons of Darius could not have had names so thoroughly Greek as these: they must be either the Greek equivalents for the Persian names, or the Persian names distorted.

225. 1. τοῦτο δὲ συνεστήκει, plpf. (intrans.) of συνίστημι. Tr. 'the battle was kept up'.

2. ὁ λίθινος λέων. This lion was apparently still extant in the time of the Emperor Tiberius. There is a play on the name Leonidas, and a lion was said to have been the device of the Spartan kings. ἐπὶ Δεωνίδα, 'in honour of Leonidas'.

3. κατέχωσαν: from καταχώννυμι, 'to overwhelm'; *lit.* 'bury'. In face of the very exaggerated accounts which were afterwards current, Herodotus' simple account is additionally valuable. For instance, Diodorus makes the Greeks attack the Persian camp, penetrate to the royal tent, and nearly kill the king.

226. 2. πάντα . . . ἀγαθά, 'sheer gain'. ὥς . . . ἀγγέλλοι depends on εἰπεῖν.

228. 1. τοῖς . . . οἵχεσθαι, 'who died before being sent away'; i.e. whose death forestalled their dismissal. χιλιάδες τέτορες. Herodotus seems to have made a mistake about this inscription. He puts the number of casualties at 4,000, whereas it is evident that it is a monument to all the Peloponnesians who fought there, whether dead or not.

2. ἀγγέλλειν: for the inf. used as the imperat. see chap. 209.

All three epitaphs are ascribed to Simonides; but for the first two he was probably paid, the last he set up at his own expense. Simonides was born at Ceos in 566, and was one of the most famous lyric poets in Greece. He also celebrated in verse Marathon, Artemisium, and Salamis, and the great men who commanded in them. In 477 he won his fifty-sixth prize (for a dithyrambic chorus) at Athens. Shortly afterwards he was invited by Hiero to Syracuse, where he died (467).

229. 1. λέγεται κτλ. The skeleton of the sentence is as follows: λέγεται, main verb, παρὸν αὐτοῖς . . . ποιεῖν, dependent clauses, οὐκ ἐθελήσαν . . . λειφθῆναι, main sentence depending on λέγεται. παρὸν is accusative absolute used as always with an impersonal verb. ὀφθαλμιῶντες. The reed-cutters in the marsh near Thermopylae now suffer from ophthalmia (Grundy). It was always a common complaint among the ancient Greeks. ἐς τὸ ἴσχατον, 'to a very high degree', i. e. 'very badly'. τὸν εἴλωτα. Each Spartan had one Helot as θεράπων, or special servant, whose business was to attend constantly to his master, and to carry his baggage and shield. The Helots were also employed for menial duties and as light-armed troops. The number of them at Thermopylae is uncertain, but a few fell there. In the army which fought at Plataea, and perhaps on many other occasions, each Spartan was attended by seven Helots. λιποψυχοῦντα, 'faint-hearted'. The word is usually used of swooning.

231. The brave death of Aristodemus at Plataea is told in ix. 71. Although in Herodotus' opinion the bravest of all who fell in the battle, he was granted no public honours as having courted death for its own sake.

234. 1. τεκμαίρομαι κτλ., 'I gauge (or estimate) your goodness from the truth of your remarks'.

3. τὰς διεξόδους, 'the ins and outs'.

235. 2. Χίλων, was included among the seven wise men; the maxims γνῶθι σεαυτόν and μὴδὲν ἄγαν, written up on the temple at Delphi, were attributed to him, and he is said to have died with joy when his son won the prize at Olympia.

3. φοβούντων: 3rd pers. pl. of the pres. imperative act.

4. ἐκεῖνο: 'my previous advice'.

238. 2. οὐ γὰρ ἄν, 'for otherwise', &c. The protasis can be supplied from the context, i. e. εἰ μὴ ἐθυμώθη. νομίζουσιν, 'are accustomed'. This is the first meaning of νομίζω (νόμος); it afterwards means 'consider', and 'think fit'. With the treatment of Leonidas' body, cf. that of the corpse of Amasis by Cambyses.

239. 2. τὸ εἰκὸς ἐμοὶ συμμάχεται (σύμμαχόν ἐστι), 'probability is my ally', 'I am supported by probability'. πάρεστι δὲ εἰκά-
ζειν, 'it may be conjectured' or 'questioned'. καταχάρων. This word usually means 'triumph maliciously'; its first meaning is 'exult over'; so here, 'through insolent triumph'.

3. *δελτίον δίπτυχον*: a folding tablet of wax enclosed in a wooden frame. This chapter, if it was written by Herodotus at all, which is doubtful, does not appear to belong properly to the context; it was probably thrust in here by an interpolator.

APPENDIX

THE NUMBER OF THE PERSIAN HOST

Note to Chapter 186.

The numbers quoted by Herodotus are, beyond doubt, exaggerated. For, as early as the fifth century B.C., it would have been impossible, owing to the difficulties of transport and commissariat, to have put a larger army in the field than one comprising at the most a million men. From what sources Herodotus gathered his information it is not easy to determine. But suffice it to say that the figures concerning the fleet are clearly more reliable than those concerning the land forces. But numbers are always untrustworthy, especially in an age when counting was a science not yet thoroughly understood.

I. *The Land Forces*. The totals here given by Herodotus are manifestly absurd. The infantry he reckons at 1,700,000; the cavalry at 80,000; charioteers and camel-drivers, 20,000; Thracian and other allies, 300,000; making in all a total of 2,100,000. To this he adds 2,100,000 camp-followers. This number is obviously arrived at by the simple expedient of allowing every man in the host one attendant. And though this assumption might be permissible in the case of the heavily armed Greeks, in the case of the Persians it is entirely unwarranted. But it shows us something of Herodotus' method of arriving at his figures.

There are three methods by which we might rationalize the numbers given. The first is Rawlinson's rather arbitrary method of taking a probable estimate of the various divisions of the army. He quotes the cavalry at 80,000, the infantry at 100,000 men. The second is Duncker's method of calculating the numbers from the time they took crossing the Hellespont. But the seven days and seven nights given by Herodotus are probably only folk-lore, and are certainly not borne out by other estimates. At any rate they are not an adequate basis for inference. He makes the total number 800,000, which curiously enough agrees with the statements of Ctesias and Ephorus. The third is the method of calculating each division separately by the data which we have about their organization and leadership. This method is used by Macan. By him the infantry are estimated

at 300,000 ; the cavalry at 60,000, making 360,000 fighting men in all. Adding to this the baggage train and various non-combatants, merchants and pedlars, &c., who would be likely to follow such a host, he puts the whole number at roughly three-quarters of a million. This estimate seems possible, though it was truly an immense number in the eyes of the Greeks. The organization must have been magnificent to cope with the difficulties of commissariat. But, from the account of Herodotus, the preparations seem to have been made on a leisurely and methodical scale. So we are content to leave it at this estimate.

II. *The Fleet*, as given by Herodotus, comprised twelve contingents ranging from 300 ships to 17. With the addition of 120 ships from the European Greeks the sum total is 1,327, a number not altogether incredible. But the fact that Herodotus, during his subsequent narrative, accounts for more than half the Persian fleet before it reaches Phaleron, seems to throw some doubt on his original statement, so abnormal are the losses. The figure 3,000 for the transports and commissariat ships sounds at first incredible. But if one reckons three transports to every battleship it does not seem so gross an absurdity. The number of men follows from the number of ships. Reckoning 200 men to a trireme, Herodotus makes a total of 241,400. Adding to this thirty epibatai a ship, he brings the total up to 277,610 men. Then, with an allowance of 240,000 men for the 3,000 penteconters, he puts the whole fleet at 517,610. This figure is doubled by the absurd process of allowing one attendant to each man, and 48,000 added for the European Greeks. The whole number then stands at 1,086,820. But it would be probably more correct to estimate them at about a quarter of a million for the fighting ships, and more for the transports.

Thus the whole host on land and on sea numbered upwards of a million souls. Truly a colossal host for such primitive times.

VOCABULARY

Ἀβδηρα, -ων, τά, a town on the south coast of Thrace.

Ἀβδηρίτης, -ου, ὁ, an inhabitant of Abdera.

ἄβουλία, -ας, ἡ, thoughtlessness, lack of sound advice.

ἄβουλος, -ον, ill-advised; *adv.* ἀβούλως; *superl.* ἀβουλότατα, with utter recklessness.

Ἀβροκόμης, -ου, ὁ, a son of Darius.

Ἀβυδηνός, -ῆ, -όν, of *or* from Abydos.

Ἀβυδος, -ον, ἡ, Abydos, a town on the Asiatic side of the Hellespont.

ἀγαθός, -ῆ, -όν, good, noble, brave; *comp.* ἀμείνων, *superl.* ἄριστος.

Ἀγαμέμνων, -ονος, ὁ, king of Mycenae.

ἀγγελία, -ας, ἡ, message, tidings, news.

ἄγγελος, -ου, ὁ, messenger, envoy.

ἄγεσις, -εως, ἡ, a mustering.

ἀγνωμοσύνη, -ης, ἡ, want of fellow-feeling, want of sense.

ἀγορά, -ᾶς, ἡ, place of assembly, market-place.

ἄγριος, -α, -ον, wild, savage.

ἀγχίστροφος, -ον, turning right on the post, quick-changing; ἀγχ. βουλεύεσθαι, to make a quick change of purpose.

ἄγω, ἄξω, ἡγαγον, lead, bring, convey, keep (a festival), pass (the night); ἄγειν ἡσυχίαν, keep quiet.

ἄγων, -ῶνος, ὁ, contest, struggle.

ἀγωνίζομαι, -ιοῦμαι, ἡγωνισάμην, contend for a prize, fight.

ἀδελφή, -ῆς, ἡ, sister.

ἀδελφός, -οῦ, ὁ, brother.

ἀδικέω, do wrong, be in the wrong; *trans.*, wrong, injure.

ἀδικία, -ας, ἡ, wrong-doing, injustice.

ἄδικος, -ον, unjust, wrong.

ἀεί, *adv.*, always.

ἄεικής, -ές, unseemly, shameful.

Ἀθῆναι, -ῶν, αἱ, Athens.

Ἀθηναῖος, -α, -ον, Athenian.

ἀθρόος, -α, -ον, in crowds, packed together.

Ἄθως, -ω, ὁ, mount Athos, on the Strymonian Gulf, opp. Lemnos.

Αἴα, -ας, ἡ, an old name of Colchis, or a peninsula in Colchis.

Αἴγινα, -ης, ἡ, Aegina, an island in the Saronic Gulf.

Αἰγιναῖος, -α, -ον, of *or* belonging to Aegina.

Αἰγινήτης, -ου, ὁ, an inhabitant of Aegina.

Αἰγύπτιος, -α, -ον, Egyptian.

Αἴγυπτος, -ου, ἡ, Egypt.

Αἰθίοψ, -οπος, ὁ, Ethiopian.

αἶμασις, -ᾶς, ἡ, stone wall.

αἰνέω, -έσω, ἡνεσα, praise, approve, commend.

Αἰολεῖς, -έων, οἱ, Aeolians.

Αἰολίς, -ίδος, ἡ, Aeolian (*used as fem. adj.*).

αἰρετός, -ή, -όν, *verb. adj.*, to be taken, captured, chosen; αἰρετώτερος, preferable.

αἰρέω, -ήσω, εἶλον, take, capture; *Midd.*, take to oneself, choose; ἡρημένος, chosen; *Pass. generally supplied by* ἀλίσκομαι.

αἰσθάνομαι, -ήσομαι, ἡσθόμην, perceive, understand.

αἰσχρός, -ά, -όν, shameful; αἰσχρῶς, basely, ill.

αἰτέω, ask, beg.

αἰτησις, -εως, ἡ, request, demand.

αἰτία, -as, ἡ, charge, blame, cause.

αἴτιον, -ον, τό, cause.

αἶχμή, -ῆς, ἡ, spear-point.

αἰών, -ῶνος, ὁ, a period of existence, life, age.

Ἀκαρνανία, -as, ἡ, Acarnania, a district on the west coast of Greece, between Epirus and Aetolia.

ἀκινάκης, -ους, ὁ, a short, straight sword.

ἀκόσμως, in disorderly fashion.

ἀκούω, hear.

ἄκρα, -as, ἡ, headland.

ἀκριβής, -ές, exact, accurate, precise.

ἄκρος, -α, -ον, topmost, end or extremity of; excellent, unsurpassed.

ἀκρωτήριο, -ον, τό, promontory, peak.

ἄκτῃ, -ῆς, ἡ, foreland, strand.

Ἀλέξανδρος, -ον, ὁ, Alexander.

ἀλέξω, ward off; *Midd.*, keep off from oneself, defend.

Ἀλευάδαι, -ῶν, οἱ, sons or descendants of Aleuas, king of Thessaly.

ἀλέω, ἤλεσα, *perf. pass.* ἀλήλεσμαι, grind.

ἀλήθεια, -as, ἡ, truth, reality.

ἀλήθης, -ές, true, truthful, un-

erring; τὸ ἀληθές, the truth; *adv.* ἀληθῶς, truly, actually.

ἄλῖα, -as, ἡ, an assembly of the people in Doric states corresponding to the Attic ἐκκλησία.

ἀλίζω, gather together, assemble; *perf. partic. pass.* ἡλισμένος, assembled.

ἀλίσκομαι, ἀλώσομαι, ἐάλων, ἐάλωκα, be taken, captured, conquered.

ἄλλά, *conj.*, but.

ἄλληλων, *reciprocal pron.*, of one another.

ἄλλος, -η, -ο, other, different; οἱ ἄλλοι, the rest.

ἄλλως, *adv.*, otherwise, in other respects, in any other way.

ἄλμυρός, -ά, -όν, salt, briny.

ἀλογία, -as, ἡ, want of regard; ἐν ἀλογίᾳ ποιῆσθαι τι, show disregard of.

Ἄλος, -ον, ὁ, in Phthiotis.

Ἀλπηνοί, -ῶν, οἱ, Alpeni.

Ἄλφους, -οῦ, ὁ, Alphus, a son of Orsiphantus.

ἅμα, *adv.*, at the same time; *as pref. c. dat.*, togetherwith, at the same time as.

ἁμαρτάνω, -τήσομαι, ἡμαρτον, miss, fail, go wrong.

ἁμαρτάς, -άδος, ἡ, failure, fault.

ἁμάρτημα, -ατος, τό, failure, sin.

ἁμαχητί, *adv.*, without a battle, without striking a blow.

ἀμείβομαι, ἀμείψομαι, ἡμειψάμην, exchange, do in turn, answer; cross (a river).

Ἀμεινοκλῆς, -έους, ὁ, Ameinokles.

Ἀμυστρίς, -ιδος, ἡ, wife of Xerxes.

Ἀμίλκας, -ον, ὁ, son of Anno, king or chief magistrate of the Carthaginians.

ἀμοιβή, -ῆς, ἡ, requital, answer.

Ἀμύντης, -ον, ὁ, Amyntes, a Macedonian.

ἀμφί, *prep. c. gen.*, concerning ; *c. dat.*, around, near, for the sake of ; *c. acc.*, about, near ; οἱ ἀμφὶ Ἐφιάλτην, 'E. and his men'.

Ἀμφικτύονες, -ων, οἱ, Amphictyons, deputies of the States associated in an Amphictyonic League.

ἀμφότερος, -α, -ον, each or both of two ; ἐπ' ἀμφότερα, both ways.

ἂν, *conditional particle*, used in the apodosis of conditional sentences ; also with relative and final words, followed by the subj.

ἀνά, *prep. c. gen., dat., acc.* (but with *gen. and dat. only in Ep. and Dor. poets*) ; *c. acc.*, over, throughout.

ἀναβαίνω, -βήσομαι, -έβην, -έβηκα, go up, mount, embark, go inland.

ἀνάβασις, -εως, ἡ, a going up, mounting, going inland.

ἀναγινώσκω, -γνώσομαι, -έγνω, -έγνωκα, *aor. pass.* -εγνώσθην, persuade, induce.

ἀναγκάζω, force, compel, constrain.

ἀνάγκη, -ης, ἡ, force, necessity.

ἀναιδεια, -ας, ἡ, shamelessness, impudence.

ἀναιδής, -ές, shameless, reckless ; ἐς τὸ ἀναιδέστερον, 'to the less honourable course'.

ἀναιρέω, -αιρήσω, -εἶλον, -ήρηκα, carry off, destroy ; give a response (*of an oracle*) ; undertake ; *Midd.*, take up and carry off for oneself.

ἀνακρεμάννυμι, hang up, impale.

ἀναμένω, -μενῶ, -έμεινα, await.

ἀνάξιος, -α, -ον, unworthy, despicable ; ἀναξίως εἶναι, 'through no fault of their own'.

ἀναξυρίδες, -ίδων, αἱ, trousers or trews worn by Eastern nations.

ἀναπειθω, -πείσω, bring over, convince, mislead.

ἀναρίθμητος, -ον, countless.

ἀνασπάω, draw or pull up.

ἀνάστατος, -ον, made to remove, driven from house and home.

ἀναστανρώω, impale.

ἀνατέλλω, *intr.* rise (*of the heavenly bodies*).

ἀνατίθημι, lay on, attribute, ascribe ; set up as a votive gift, dedicate.

ἀνατρέχω, -δραμοῦμαι, -έδραμον, run back, start up.

ἀναχωρέω, go back, retire, retreat.

ἀνδραγαθία, -ας, ἡ, manly virtue, bravery.

ἀνδράποδον, -ον, τό, one taken in war and sold as a slave, captive.

Ἀνδρομέδα, -ης, ἡ, Andromeda, daughter of the Ethiopian king Cepheus ; rescued from a sea-monster by Perseus.

ἀνεθέλητος, -ον, unwelcome.

ἄνειμι (*used as fut. of ἀνέρχομαι*), go up, go inland, go back, return (*after digression*).

ἄνεμος, -ον, ό, wind, squall.

ἄνευ, *prep. c. gen.*, without.

ἀνέχω (*also ἀνίσχω*), -έξω and ἀνασχέσω, -έσχω, hold up, hold back ; *intr.* rise, jut out ; *Midd.*, hold out, bear with patience, have the hardihood to.

ἀνεψιός, -οῦ, ό, first-cousin, a cousin, a nephew.

ἀνέκω, reach up to ; ἀνήκειν ἐς τὰ ἑμῆναι, 'reach the highest point at which I aim'.

ἀνὴρ, ἀνδρός, ό, a man, a brave man.

Ἀνῆριςτος, -ου, ὁ, the father of Sperchias.

ἄνθρωπινος, -η, -ον, human.

ἄνθρωπος, -ου, ὁ, human being, man.

ἀνίσχω, *see* ἀνέχω.

ἀνοιδέω, swell up, be swollen.

ἀνορθόω, restore, rebuild.

ἀνταίρω, -αρῶ, -ῆρα, raise against.

ἀνταποκτείνω, kill in return.

ἀντέχω, ἀνθέξω, ἀντέσχον, hold against, hold out, suffice, withstand.

ἀντί, *prep. c. gen.*, instead, in the place of.

ἀντιβίην (*Ionic*), *adv.*, opposing force to force, face to face.

ἀντίξοος, -ον, opposed to, adverse.

ἀντιόομαι, -ώσομαι, ἡντιώθην, resist, oppose.

ἀντίος, -α, -ον, face to face, opposite; ἀντία and ἀντίον, *adv. or prep. c. gen. or dat.*, against, facing.

ἀντιχαρίζομαι, make a return, return a kindness.

ἀντιχράω, *used only in aor.* ἀντέχρησε, be sufficient for, afford a sufficient supply.

ἄνω, *adv.*, upwards, inland; in the upper, *i. e.* northern, direction; οἱ ἀνωτάτω, those who stood at the top.

ἀνωθέω, -ώσω, push, thrust off; *Midd.*, push off from oneself, repulse.

ἀξία, -ας, ἡ, worth, value, deserts.

ἀξιόνομος, -ον, worthy of victory; ἀξιονικότερος, more worthy than every possible rival.

ἄξιος, -α, -ον, of like value, of equal worth, worthy, deserving.

ἀπαγής, -ές, not rigid *or* stiff.

ἀπάγω, -άξω, -ήγαγον, lead away, carry off, arrest.

ἀπαλλάσσω, -άξω, -ήλλαξα, release, dismiss; *intr.* escape. *Midd. and Pass.*, depart.

ἀπαμύνω, -υνῶ, ward off; *Midd.*, keep off from oneself, repel.

ἅπαξ, *adv.*, once, once for all.

ἀπαρτιλογία, -ας, ἡ, an even number.

ἅπας, ἅπασα, ἅπαν, all, quite all, every man.

ἄπειμι (εἶμι), *serving as fut. of* ἀπέρχομαι, go away, depart, retreat.

ἀπείπον, ἀπερῶ, ἀπείρηκα, deny, refuse, renounce, give up, be worn out, exhausted.

ἀπείρατος, -ον, untried, unattempted.

ἀπελαύνω, -ελάσω *or* -ελῶ, drive away, banish; *with* στρατόν *expressed or understood*, lead away, march away; ride off.

ἀπέρχομαι, -ελεύσομαι, *or* ἄπειμι, -ῆλθον, go away, depart.

ἀπέχω, ἀφέξω, ἀπέσχον, keep off *or* away from; *intr.*, be away *or* far from. *Midd.*, hold oneself from, abstain, desist, refrain.

ἄπιστος, -ον, not to be trusted, faithless, untrustworthy, incredible.

ἀπό, *prep. c. gen.*, from, away from, sprung from; *of time*, from, after; ἀπό τῆς δόξης πεσεῖν, to be disappointed in his hope.

ἀποβαίνω, -βήσομαι, -έβην, -βέβηκα, step off from, disembark, go away; happen, result.

ἀποδείκνυμι, -δείξω, -έδειξα, show forth, exhibit, assign; *Midd.*, display, perform.

ἀποδιδράσκω, -δράσομαι, -έδραν,

- run away, take to flight, escape.
- ἀποκρύπτω, -ψω, -έκρυψα, hide from, keep hidden, conceal.
- ἀποκτείνω, -κτενῶ, -έκτεινα, kill.
- ἀπολαγχάνω, -λήξομαι, obtain a portion *or* section by lot.
- ἀπολείπω, -ψω, -έλιπον, leave behind, abandon; *intr.* fail, be wanting; ὀλίγον ἀπέλιπον ἀφικέσθαι, 'I all but reached'.
- ἀπόλλυμι, ἀπολῶ, ἀπώλεσα, destroy, ruin; *Midd.* ἀπόλλυμαι, -οιοῦμαι, -ωλόμην, perish, be ruined *or* destroyed.
- ἀποπέτομαι, -πετίσομαι, -επτάμην, fly away, vanish.
- ἀποπλήρωμι, -πλήσω, fill up *or* complete a number.
- ἀπορρίπτω, -ρίψω, -έρριψα, throw away, utter, bandy (words).
- ἀποσκήπτω, hurl, launch.
- ἀποστέλλω, -στελῶ, -έστειλα, send away, dispatch.
- ἀποστρέφω, -ψω, -έστρεψα, turn back, send home, reject; λόγοι ἀπεστραμμένοι, 'words averse from his proposal', hostile.
- ἀποσωζω, save from, bring safe back; ἀποσωθῆναι, to get safe to a place.
- ἀποτέμνω, -τεμῶ, -έτεμον, cut off, sever.
- ἀποφαίνω, -φανῶ, -έφηνα, show forth, display, prove; *Midd.* (*with or without γνώμην*), declare one's opinion.
- ἀπρόθυμος, -ον, unready, backward.
- ἄπτομαι, ἄψομαι, ἡψάμην, ἦμαι, cling to, grasp, engage in, undertake, attack.
- ἄρα, so then, so true is it that, *generally implying that previous conviction is confirmed.*
- Ἀργεῖοι, -ων, οἱ, men of Argos, Argives, Greeks.
- Ἄργος, -ους, τό, the capital of Argolis in the Peloponnesus.
- ἀργύρεος, -α, -ον, of silver.
- ἀργύριον, -ου, τό, money.
- ἄργυρος, -ου, ό, silver.
- Ἀργώ, -οῦς, ἡ, the ship Argo, in which Jason sailed to Colchis.
- ἀρετή, -ῆς, ἡ, merit, excellence, nobility.
- ἀριθμέω, number, reckon up, count.
- ἀριθμός, -οῦ, ό, number, reckoning.
- ἀριστερός, -ά, -όν, on the left; ἀριστερά, *with or without* χεῖρ, the left hand; ἐξ ἀριστερᾶς, ἐς ἀριστεράν, ἐν ἀριστερᾷ, on the left.
- ἀριστεύω, be best *or* bravest, gain the highest distinction for valour.
- Ἀριστόδημος, -ου, ό, one of the Three Hundred.
- ἄριστον, -ου, τό, breakfast; *in later times*, luncheon.
- ἀρκέω, -έσω, ἤρκεσα, be strong enough, suffice; ἀρκῶν βίος, enough to live upon; ἀρκέισθαι, be satisfied with.
- Ἀρματίδης, -ου, ό, a Thespian.
- Ἀρσάμης, -ους, ό, father of Hystaspes.
- Ἀρτάβανος, -ου, ό, son of Hystaspes.
- Ἀρτάνης, -ου, ό, father of Phragagune.
- Ἀρτεμίσιον, -ου, τό, a promontory of the island of Euboea.
- ἀρτεόμαι, prepare, make preparations for.
- ἀρχαῖος, -α, -ον, ancient.
- ἀρχή, -ῆς, ἡ, beginning, origin, sovereignty, empire; κατ' ἀρχάς, originally; ἀρχῇν *is used adverbially*, to begin

with ; *with a neg.*, absolutely not, not at all.

ἄρχομαι, ἄρξομαι, ἡρξάμην, begin.

ἄρχω, ἄρξω, ἡρξα, make a beginning of, be first in position, lead, rule, govern ; οἱ ἄρχοντες, the rulers ; οἱ ἀρχόμενοι, the subjects.

ἀσθενής, -ές, weak.

Ἀσία, -ας, ἡ, Asia.

ἀσινής, -ές, unharmed, undamaged.

ἀσκέω, -ήσω, ἡσκησα, adorn, practise, exercise.

ἀσπίς, -ιδος, ἡ, round shield.

Ἀσσύριοι, -ων, οἱ, Assyrians.

ἄστυ, -εως, τό, town.

ἀσχήμων, -ον, misshapen, indecorous, lacking in dignity.

Ἀσωνίδης, -ου, ὁ, a naval commander.

Ἀσωπός, -οῦ, ὁ, a river in Boeotia.

ἀτάσθαλος, -ον, presumptuous, reckless, wicked.

ἄτε (*mostly in causal sense, with partic.*), seeing that, inasmuch as.

ἀτέω, *in partic.*, like one possessed, reckless.

ἀτραπός, -οῦ, ἡ, path.

αὖ } *adv.*, again, further.
αὖθις }

αὐτεπάγγελτος, -ον, of free will, on his own initiative.

αὐτίκα, *adv.*, straightway.

αὐτόματος, -η, -ον, self-impelled, spontaneous, without visible cause.

αὐτός, -ή, -ό, self (*Lat. ipse*) ; *in the oblique cases, which cannot stand first, it does duty for the 3rd personal pron.* (*Lat. eum, eam, id*) ; ὁ αὐτὸς ἀνὴρ = the same man ; αὐτὸς ὁ ἀνὴρ, the man himself ; αὐτοῦ, *loc.*, there, on the spot.

αὐτόφωρος, -ον, self-detected ;

ἐπ' αὐτοφώρῳ ἀλούς, caught in the very act.

αὐχὴν, -ένος, ὁ, the neck, a neck of land, isthmus.

ἀφαιρέω, -ήσω, -εἶλον, -ῆρηκα, take away ; *perf. pass.* ἀφῆρημαι, I have something taken from me, I am robbed of it.

ἀφανίζω, make unseen, hide from sight ; *Pass.*, be lost, disappear.

ἄφατος, -ον, not uttered, untold.

Ἀφέται, -ῶν, αἱ, a place on the Magnesian coast, whence the Argonauts ἐμελλον ἀφῆσειν.

ἄφθονος, -ον, ungrudging, plentiful, abundant.

ἀφίημι, -ήσω, -ῆκα, send away, discharge, set free, cast off her moorings (*of a ship*), disband.

ἀφικνέομαι, -ίξομαι, -ικόμην, -ίγμαι, arrive at, reach.

ἀφίστημι, ἀποστήσω, ἀπέστησα (*trans.*), ἀπέστην, ἀφέστηκα (*intrans.*), put away, remove, cause to revolt ; (*intrans.*) stand aloof from, revolt ; ἀφεστῶτες, rebels.

Ἀχαιμένης, -ους, ὁ, brother of Xerxes.

ἄχαρις, ἄχαρι, without grace, disagreeable, grievous.

Ἀχελῷος, -ον, ὁ, Achelous, a river separating Aetolia from Acarnania, the modern Aspropotamo.

ἄχθομαι, ἀχθέσομαι, ἡχθέσθην, be vexed, annoyed, grieved.

ἀχθοφόρος, -ον, bearing burdens.

βάθρον, -ον, τό, stage, scaffolding.

βαθύς, -εῖα, -ύ, deep.

βαίνω, βήσομαι, ἐβην, βέβηκα, go, march, start ; εὖ βεβηκώς, well established.

βάλλω, βαλῶ, ἔβαλον, βέβληκα, throw, hurl missiles; *Pass.*, be pelted, stricken with missiles; ἐς δεῖμα βαλεῖν, to alarm.

βάραθρον, -ου, τό, gulf, pit; *esp.* a yawning cleft behind the Acropolis at Athens.

βάρβαρος, -ον, one who speaks a foreign tongue, anything that is not Greek; foreign, barbarous.

βασανίζω, rub upon the touchstone, test, question, *esp.* under torture.

βασίλειά, -ας, ἡ, kingdom, empire.

βασίλειος, -ον, kingly, royal.

βασιλεύς, -έως, ὁ, king.

βασιλεύω, be king, reign.

βέλος, -ους, τό, missile, bolt.

βίος, -ου, ὁ, life, livelihood, means of living.

Βόγης, -ου, ὁ, a Persian who distinguished himself at the siege of Eion.

βοητέω, run up to a cry for help, come to the rescue, bring succour or reinforcements.

βούλευμα, -ατος, τό, resolution, purpose.

βουλεύομαι, be determined or resolved.

βουλή, -ῆς, ἡ, determination, counsel, plan; βουλὴν διδούς, *sc.* εἰαυτῷ, 'thinking it over'.

Βούλις, -ιδος, ὁ, a Spartan, colleague of Sperschias.

βούλομαι, βουλήσομαι, ἐβουλήθην, βεβούλημαι, wish, desire.

βοῦς, βοός, ὁ, ἡ, bull, ox, cow.

βραχύς, -εῖα, -ύ, short, brief, small.

βροντή, -ῆς, ἡ, thunder.

βύσσινος, -η, -ον, made of βύσσος (fine flax); βυσ. σινδών, a fine linen bandage.

γάρ, *conj.*, for; with *interrog.* it expresses surprise or incredulity; it frequently prefaces a narrative.

γε, *enclit. particle*, at least; most commonly it serves to emphasize preceding word.

γελοῖος, -α, -ον, laughable, ridiculous.

Γέλων, -ωνος, ὁ, king of Syracuse.

γέλως, -ωτος, ὁ, laughter.

γενέθλη, -ης, ἡ, race, stock.

γενναίως, *adv.*, nobly.

γένος, -ους, τό, race, family.

γέρας, -ως, τό, a gift of honour, distinction, privilege.

γέρρον, -ου, τό, oblong wicker shield covered with ox-hide.

γεύω, give a taste of.

γέφυρα, -ας, ἡ, bridge.

γεφυρώω, throw a bridge over, make passable by a bridge.

γεωπέδων (*elsewhere* γεωπέδιον), a garden plot.

γῆ, γῆς, ἡ, earth, land, country.

γιοχέω (γιουχέω), own or occupy land.

γηράσκω, -άσομαι or -άσω, ἐγήρασα, grow old.

γίγνομαι, γενήσομαι, ἐγενόμην, γεγένημαι, γέγονα, be born, be produced, become, prove.

γιγνώσκω, γνώσομαι, ἔγνωκα, recognize, discern, know, form an opinion; ὄνομα γέγονε, the name was given.

γλυκύς, -εῖα, -ύ, sweet, pleasant, desirable.

γνώμη, -ης, ἡ, judgement, intelligence, inclination, opinion, view.

Γόννος, -ου, ὁ, a town in Macedonia.

Γοργώ, -οῦς, ἡ, wife of Leonidas.

γράμμα, -ατος, τό, a written character, inscription.

γράφω, -ψω, ἔγραψα, write.

γυμνάζομαι, train oneself, practise gymnastic exercises.

γυνή, γυναικός, ἡ, woman, wife.

Γωβρύας, -ου, ὁ, Gobryas, father of Mardonius.

δακρύω, δακρύσω, ἐδάκρυσσα, weep.

Δανάη, -ης, ἡ, Danae, daughter of Acrisius and mother of Perseus.

Δαρεικός, -οῦ, a Persian coin, said to have been first coined by Darius.

Δαρείος, -ου, ὁ, Darius, name of several kings of Persia.

δατέομαι, δάσσομαι, ἐδασάμην, divide (among themselves), share out.

δέ, but, and now; *corresponding to a previous μέν*, on the one hand... on the other; δ' οὖν, be that as it may, however; δέ in apodosis, *not to be translated*.

δεῖ, δεήσει, it is necessary.

δείδω, δείσομαι, ἔδεισα, δέδοικα or δέδια, fear.

δείλη, -ης, ἡ, afternoon; δειλὴς ὄψις, late in the afternoon.

δειλία, -ας, ἡ, cowardice.

δείμα, -ατος, τό, fear.

δεινός, -ή, -όν, terrible, monstrous, powerful, dangerous; δεινὰ ποιούμενος, being indignant.

δεῖπνον, -ου, τό, *the principal meal, taken at different hours in different times*, dinner, supper.

δέκα, οἱ, αἱ, τά, *indecl.*, ten.

δελτίον, -ου, τό, a small writing-tablet.

Δελφοί, -ῶν, οἱ, the famous oracle of Apollo in Phocis.

δένδρον, -ου, τό, tree.

δεξιὰ -ās, ἡ (*fem. of δεξιός, sc. χεῖρ*), the right hand; ἐν δεξιᾷ

ἔχοντες, keeping them on the right.

δεσπότης, -ου, ὁ, master, lord, owner.

δεύτερος, -α, -ον, second; δεύτερα, τὸ δεύτερον, for the second time.

δέχομαι, δέξομαι, ἐδεξάμην, receive, accept, entertain.

δή, *a particle usually emphasizing the preceding word*, indeed, in truth; καὶ δὴ καί, and in particular (*drawing attention to a special point, after a general statement*).

δῆλος, -η, -ον, visible, conspicuous, clear, obvious; δῆλα or δῆλον (ἐστὶ), it is evident.

δηλόω, make visible or manifest, prove, show.

Δημάρατος, -ου, ὁ, Demaratus, son of Ariston.

δηόω, waste, ravage.

δηῖτα, *adv.*, in questions it marks an inference, τί δῆτα, 'why then', 'why, pray?' in answers it echoes a word just used; it strengthens negatives.

διά, *prep. c. gen.*, through, throughout, by means of, after an interval of; *c. acc.*, owing to.

διαβαίνω, -βήσομαι, -έβην, -βέβηκα, go over, cross.

διάβασις, -εως, ἡ, crossing, passage.

διαδατέομαι, *aor. infin.* διαδάσασθαι, divide among themselves; διὰ πάντα δάσσηται, *so-called tmesis in ch. 220*.

διαδέξιος, -ον, of good omen.

διαθέτης, -ου, ὁ, one who arranges, editor, interpreter; *some connect with διατίθεσθαι*, to dispose of.

διακαρτερέω, endure to the end, hold out.

διακρίνω, -κρίνω, -έκρινα, separate, distinguish, come to a decision.

διαλύω, part asunder, break up, dismiss.

διαπειλέω, threaten violently.

διατάσσω, -τάξω, -έταξα, appoint severally, dispose, put in battle order.

διατέμνω, -τεμῶ, -έτεμον, sever, cut in two.

διατίθημι, -θήσω, -έθηκα [θές, θῶ, θείην, θείναι, θείς], arrange, dispose.

διαφαίνω, -φάνῶ, -έφηνα, let a thing be seen through; *sometimes intrans.*, ἕως διέφαινε, 'the light of dawn broke through'.

διαφέρω, -οίσω, -ήνεγκα *or* -ήνεγκον, carry over, go through with; *Pass.* differ, be at variance.

διαφεύγω, -φεύξομαι, -έφυγον, get away from, escape.

διαφθείρω, -φθερῶ, -έφθειρα, *aor. pass.* -εφθάρην, destroy, kill.

διαφορά, -άς, ή, difference, disagreement.

διαχράομαι, -ήσομαι, use habitually, be under the influence of.

δίδωμι, δώσω, ἔδωκα [δός, δῶ, δοίην, δοῦναι, δούς], give; δοῦναι δίκας, give satisfaction, be punished; βουλὴν διδούς, giving counsel to oneself, thinking over a question.

διεκπλέω, -πλεύσομαι, sail out through.

διέξιμι (εἶμι), go out through, go through in detail.

διέξοδος, -ον, ή, a way out through, outlet, passage, issue.

διεργάζομαι, make an end of, kill.

διερεύω, draw across.

δίζημαι, seek after, seek the meaning of.

Διηνέκης, -ους, ό, a Lacedaemonian poet.

Διθύραμβος, -ον, ό, Dithyrambus, son of Harmatides.

δικάζω, judge, decide, adjudge.

δίκαιος, -α, -ον, righteous, just, lawful, honest, right and proper; *adv.* δικάως, reasonably.

δικαιοσύνη, -ης, ή, righteousness, justice.

δικαιόω, deem right, claim.

δικαστής, -ου, ό, judge.

δίκη, -ης, ή, usage, right, lawsuit, satisfaction, penalty; δοῦναι δίκας, give satisfaction, be punished.

διό = δι' ό, owing to which thing, wherefore.

διπλάσιος, -α, -ον, twofold, twice as much, *or* as many, as.

δίπτυχος, -ον, double-folded; δίπτυχον δελτίον, a pair of tablets.

δís, *adv.*, twice.

διώκω, -ξω, ἐδίωξα, pursue, give chase.

διῶρυξ, -ῦχος, ή, trench, canal. δοκέω, δόξω, ἔδοξα, think, imagine; *often impers.* δοκεί, it seems; *pass.* δέδοκται, it has seemed good, it has been determined.

δόκιμος, -ον, approved, notable, excellent.

δονέομαι, be moved, be in a state of commotion.

δόξα, -ης, ή, opinion, expectation; ἀπὸ τῆς δόξης πεσεῖν, to be disappointed of one's hopes.

δόρυ, -ατος, τό, spear.

δορυφόρος, -ον, spear-bearing; δορυφόροι, spearmen, *esp.* a king's bodyguard.

δούλος, -ον, ό, slave.

δουλότερος, more completely enslaved.

δουλόω, enslave.

δρῦς, δρυνός, ἡ, the oak.

δύναμαι, δυνήσομαι, ἐδυνήθην, be able, be strong enough.

δύναμις, -ως, ἡ, power, strength, ability, influence, quantity, amount; κατὰ δύναμιν, to the best of one's ability.

δυνατός, -ή, -όν, strong, powerful, able.

δύο, δυοῖν, two.

δυσχεύρωτος, -ον, hard to subdue.

δωρέομαι, present (some one with something, or something to some one).

Δωριεῖς, οἱ, the Dorians.

ἐ, οὗ (Lat. se, sui), reflexive pron. 3rd pers.

ἔαρ, ἔαρος, τό, season of spring.

ἐαυτοῦ, -ῆς, -οῦ, reflexive pron. 3rd pers.

ἐάω, ἐάσω, εἶασα, let, allow, let alone.

ἐβδομήκοντα, indecl., seventy.

ἐγείρω, ἐγερῶ, ἤγειρα, awaken, rouse, stir up.

ἐγκυρέω, aor. ἐνεκύρησα, fall in with.

ἐγχειρίδιον, -ον, τό, hand-knife, dagger.

ἐγώ, ἐγωγε, ἐμοῦ, I.

ἐθελοντής, -οῦ, ό, volunteer.

ἐθέλω, ἐθελήσω, ἤθελον, ἠθέλησα, be willing, wish, be ready to.

ἔθνος, -ους, τό, company, nation, people, tribe.

εἰ, εἴπερ, conjunct., if, if indeed, if as is the case.

εἶδομαι, seem to be, look like, take the form of.

εἰκάζω, make like to, infer.

εἰλως, -ωτος, a Helot, Spartan serf.

εἶμι, ἔσομαι, ᾔν, be, exist; ἔστι,

impers., it is possible; ἐκὼν εἶναι (very rare without a negative), entirely of his own free will.

εἶμι (ibo), imperf. ἦειν, go, proceed.

εἶπον, used as aor. of φημί, speak, say, reply.

εἶρημαι, see ἐρῶ.

εἷς, μία, ἓν, one.

εἰς, see ἐς.

εἴτε . . . εἴτε, either . . . or, whether . . . or.

εἶωθα, perf. of ἔθω (used only in partic.), be wont, accustomed.

ἐκ, see ἐξ.

ἐκαστος, -η, -ον, each one.

ἐκάτερος, -α, -ον, each of two.

ἐκατόν, indecl., a hundred.

ἐκατοστός, -ή, -όν, the hundredth.

ἐκβαίνω, -βήσομαι, ἐξέβην, -βέβηκα, step out of, disembark, come to pass, turn out.

ἐκβάλλω, -βαλῶ, ἐξέβαλον, -βέβληκα, cast out, throw overboard.

ἐκβολή, -ῆς, ἡ, a throwing out, the mouth of a river.

ἐκβράσσω, wash ashore.

ἐκδέχομαι, -δέξομαι, ἐξεδεξάμην, take or receive from another, take on as a successor.

ἐκδίδωμι, -δώσω, ἐξέδωκα, give up, surrender; give a daughter in marriage.

ἐκεῖ, adv., there.

ἐκεῖνος, -η, -ο, that, the former.

ἐκείσε, adv., thither.

ἐκκνάω, -ήσω, scrape off.

ἐκλέγω, pick, choose, single out.

ἐκλείπω, leave out, pass over, quit, desert, leave off, stop.

ἐκμανθάνω, -μαθήσομαι, ἐξέμαθον, learn thoroughly, make thorough investigation.

ἐκπαγλέομαι, be struck with amazement.

ἐκπλήσσω, -πλήξω, ἐξέπληξα, amaze, astound; *aor. pass.* ἐξεπλήγην, struck with panic.

ἐκστρατεύομαι, march out, take the field.

ἐκτρίβω, rub out, destroy; *aor. pass.* ἐκτριβῆναι, be utterly destroyed.

ἐκφαίνω, bring to light, reveal, make known.

ἐκφορέω, carry out, remove.

ἐκών, ἐκούσα, ἐκόν, willing; with good will, readily; ἐκὼν εἶναι, *usually with neg.*, as far as depends on me, right willingly.

ἐλασις, -εως, ἡ, march, expedition.

ἐλάσσων, -ον, *comparative of* ἐλαχύς, less.

ἐλαστρέω (*Ionic for* ἐλαύνω), drive, row.

ἐλαύνω, ἐλάσω *or* ἐλῶ, ἤλασα, drive; *the object is often omitted, and the verb becomes intr.*, travel, march, move; *pf. pass.* ἐλήλαμαι, be built.

ἐλάχιστος, *superl. of* ἐλαχύς, least.

ἐλευθερία, -ας, ἡ, freedom.

ἐλεύθερος, -α, -ον, free, independent; *adv.* ἐλευθέρως, freely, frankly.

ἐλῖνύω, -ύσω, ἡλίνυσα, take a rest; ἐλινύσας οὐδένα χρόνον, without a moment's cessation.

ἔλκος, -ους, τό, wound.

ἔλκω, ἔλξω, εἴλκυσα, draw, drag, drag on, prolong.

Ἑλλάς, -άδος, ἡ, Hellas, Northern Greece, as opposed to Peloponnesus; a general name for the whole of Greece.

Ἕλλην, -ηνος, ό, a Greek.

Ἑλληνικός, -ή, -όν, Hellenic, Greek.

Ἑλληνίς -ίδος, ἡ, a Greek woman; *used as fem. of* Ἑλληνικός, Ἑλληνίδες νῆες.

Ἑλλησπόντιος, -α, -ον, of the Hellespont.

Ἑλλήσποντος, -ου, ό, Sea of Hellé, the Hellespont; *now* the Dardanelles.

ἐλπομαι, hope.

ἐμαυτοῦ, -ῆς, *reflex. pron. 1st pers.*, of me, of myself.

ἐμβάλλω, ἐμβαλῶ, ἐνέβαλον, put in, inspire with.

ἐμός, -ή, -όν, *possess. adj. 1st pers.*, my, mine.

ἐμπίπλημι, ἐμπλήσω, ἐνέπλησα, fill.

ἐμπνους, -ουν, with the breath still in one, alive.

ἐμποιέω, make in, introduce, produce, cause.

ἐμπροσθε, *adv.*, before, in front; *prep. c. gen.*, in front of, before.

ἐν, *prep. c. dat.*, in, among, in the presence of; *sometimes adv.*, therein, among them.

ἐναντιόομαι, -ώσομαι, ἡναντιώθην, set oneself against, oppose, be adverse.

ἐναντίος, -α, -ον, opposite, contrary, facing, opposed; οἱ ἐναντίοι, their opponents; ἐξ ἐναντίας, *sc.* ὁδοῦ, opposite.

ἐνδεκα, *indecl.*, eleven.

ἐνδοιαστῶς, *adv.*, doubtfully, with hesitation.

ἐνδύω *and* ἐνδύνω, -σω, ἐνέδυσσα, put on, clothe in; *2nd aor.* ἐνέδυν *and Midd.* ἐνδύομαι, -σομαι, ἐνεδυσάμην, put on oneself.

ἐννέμι, -έσομαι, -ῆν, be in.

ἐνεκα, *prep. c. gen.*, on account of, for the sake of, as far as regards.

ἐνθα, *adv.*, where.
 ἐνθαδε, *adv.*, here.
 ἐνθαπερ, *adv.*, the very place where.
 ἐνιαυτός, -οῦ, ὅ, a year.
 ἔνιοι, -αι, -α, some.
 ἐννέα, *indecl.*, nine; Ἐννέα ὁδοί,
 Nine-ways, a spot near the R. Strymon.
 ἐνταῦθα, *adv.*, here, hereupon.
 ἐντέλλομαι, lay one's commands upon, enjoin, issue orders.
 ἐντεῦθεν, *adv.*, hence.
 ἐξ, ἐκ, *prep. c. gen.*, from, out of, after.
 ἐξαγγέλλω, -ελῶ, ἐξήγγειλα, tell out, proclaim, report.
 ἐξαιρέω, -ήσω, ἐξεῖλον, ἐξήρηκα, take out of; *pass.* ἐξηρέθην, ἐξήρημαι, be removed, driven out.
 ἐξαλείφω, -ψω, blot out, obliterate.
 ἐξάμετρος, -ον, of six metres or feet.
 ἐξανάγω, -άξω, bring out of; *aur. pass.* ἐξανήχθην, put out to sea.
 ἐξαριθμέω, number throughout, count completely.
 ἐξαρτύω, get ready, prepare; *pass.* ἐξηρτυμένος, furnished with.
 ἐξείργομαι, be shut out, forced, constrained.
 ἐξελαύνω, -ελάσσω or -ελῶ, ἐξήλασα, drive out, lead out.
 ἐξεπίσταμαι, know thoroughly.
 ἐξέρχομαι, -ελεύσομαι, -ἤλθον, go or come out, quit; be accomplished, come true.
 ἐξεστι, it is allowed, possible.
 ἐξευρίσκω, -ευρήσω, -εὔρον, find out, discover, invent.
 ἐξηγέομαι, lead the way, go before, lead, expound, explain, relate.
 ἐξισόω, make equal or even.

ἐξοδος, -ου, ἡ, going out, marching out, outlet, issue.
 ἐξοκέλλω, *intr.*, run aground; *trans.*, run (a ship) aground.
 ἐξορίσσω, dig out.
 ἐξυβρίζω, break out into insolence.
 ἔξω, *adv.*, out of, outside; *prep. c. gen.*, outside of, except.
 ἔξωθεν, *adv.*, from without; also = ἔξω.
 ἐξώλης, -ες, utterly destroyed, ruined.
 εἶκοι, *plpf.* ἐώκειν, be like, seem, seem likely; ὡς εἰκός, as is likely.
 ἐπαγγέλλω, proclaim, announce; *Midd.*, have proclamation made, send orders to.
 ἔπαινος, -ου, ὁ, approval, praise.
 ἐπαίρω, ἐπαρῶ, ἐπήρα, lift up; *aur. pass.* ἐπήρθην, be induced, elated.
 ἐπαῖστος, -ον, discovered, detected.
 ἐπάν = ἐπειδάν, when, whenever, as soon as.
 ἐπανάγω, -άξω, -ήγαγον, bring or stir up, bring back; *aur. pass.* ἐπανήχθην, put to sea against.
 ἐπανατέλλω, raise; *intr. of the sun*, rise.
 ἐπανρίσκομαι, ἐπανρήσομαι, ἐπηνράμην and ἐπηνρόμην, enjoy the benefit of, get some good out of.
 ἐπεγείρω, awaken, rouse up.
 ἐπεὶ { *conjunct.*, after that,
 ἐπεὶ { since, when, seeing
 ἐπειδή { that; ἐπεὶ τάχιστα, as soon as.
 ἔπειμι (εἶμι), be upon, be present, be set over.
 ἔπειμι (εἶμι), come upon, approach, threaten.
 ἔπειτα, *adv.*, thereupon, then, afterwards.

ἐπελαύνω, drive upon *or* against, lead against; *intr.*, march against, charge.
 ἐπέξειμι (εἶμι), go out against, march out towards.
 ἐπεξέρχομαι, go out against, go through, traverse.
 ἐπέρχομαι, come upon, threaten, be imminent.
 ἐπερωτάω, consult, question.
 ἐπέσειμι (εἶμι), come in *or* besides, come on besides.
 ἐπέχω, ἐφέξω *and* ἐπισχῆσω, ἐπέσχον, hold over, hold out, attack, withhold.
 ἐπί, *prep.* *c. gen.*, upon, at, in the presence of, in the time of; *c. dat.*, upon, for, in, against, in honour of, in the power of; *c. acc.*, upon, on to, up to, as far as, for (*of time*); ἐπὶ αἴτησιν, to make request; ἐφ' ὕδωρ, to get water; ἐπ' ἀμφότερα, in both cases.
 ἐπιβάλλω, -βαλῶ, ἐπέβαλον, throw *or* put upon, lay on; *intr.*, fall to the share of.
 ἐπιβατεύω, set foot upon, serve as soldier *or* marine on board ship.
 ἐπιβάτης, -ον, ὅ, one who serves among the fighting men on board ship, marine.
 ἐπίγραμμα, -ατος, τό, inscription, *esp.* a sepulchral *or* commemorative inscription.
 ἐπιγράφω, -ψω, -έγραψα, write upon, write an inscription, *esp.* an epitaph.
 ἐπιδείκνυμι, -ξω, -έδειξα, exhibit, display.
 ἐπιδευής, -ές (*Ionian*), lacking.
 ἐπιδέω, -δεήσω, want, fall short of; ἐπιδεούσας, 'all but'.
 ἐπιδίδωμι, -δάσω, -έδωκα, give besides, give freely.
 ἐπιζέω, -ζέσω, -έζεσα, boil over.

ἐπιθυμητής, -οῦ, ὅ, one who desires, eager to perform.
 ἐπικαλέομαι, appeal to, call in as an ally.
 ἐπικείμει, be laid upon, lie on, lie near, be adjacent.
 ἐπικλήτος, -ον, summoned, called in as an ally.
 ἐπικοσμέω, decorate *or* honour besides.
 ἐπικρατέω, rule over, be victorious, get the mastery over.
 ἐπιλάμπω, -λάμψω, -έλαμψα, shine after *or* upon; ἡμέρας ἐπιλαμψάσης, in the full light of day.
 ἐπιλέγω, say in addition, add a remark; *Midd.*, read, peruse.
 ἐπίλοιπος, -ον, remaining, the rest of.
 ἐπιπέμπω, send again, send to.
 ἐπιπέτομαι, -πτήσομαι, -επιτησύμην, fly to, come to.
 ἐπιπλα, -ων, τά, implements, equipment.
 ἐπιπλεος, -έα, -εον, quite full of.
 ἐπιπλήσσω, -πλήξω, -έπληξα, strike at, reprove, find fault with, charge one with.
 ἐπισπένδω, -σπείσω, pour over, *esp.* as a drink-offering.
 ἐπίσταμαι, know, understand, feel sure.
 ἐπιστέλλω, -στελῶ, -έστειλα, send to, send instructions to; ἐπέσταλτο, orders had been given.
 ἐπιτάσσω, -ξω, -έταξα, enjoin, order; ἐπετέτακτο, orders had been given.
 ἐπιτήκω, melt upon, pour melted (wax) over.
 ἐπιτίθημι, lay *or* put upon, impose (a penalty); *Midd.*, throw oneself upon, attack.
 ἐπιτρέπω, -ψω, -έτρεψα, commit,

entrust; *aor. midd.* ἐπετρέπετο, was committed to his charge.

ἐπιτροπεύω, be a trustee or guardian, administer, govern.

ἐπιφαίνω, -φανῶ, display.

ἐπιφανής, -ές, famous, illustrious.

ἐπίφθονος, -ον, looked on with jealousy, invidious, hateful.

ἐπιφοιτάω, visit frequently, haunt.

ἐπιφράζω, say besides; *usually in aor. midd. or pass.*, contrive; ἐπιφρασθεῖσα, having solved or thought out the problem.

ἐπιχώριος, -α, -ον, *also* -ος, -ον, in or of the country, the custom of the country.

ἐποκέλλω, run (a ship) ashore.

ἔπομαι, ἔψομαι, ἐσπόμεν, go with, follow, attend.

ἔπος, -ους, τό, word, song, verse or line of poetry; *in plur.*, poetry, *esp.* epic poetry.

ἐποτρύνω, stir up, urge on.

ἐπτά, *indecl.*, seven.

ἐργάζομαι, -άσομαι, εἰργασάμεν, εἰργασμαι, work, do, cause, make.

ἔργον, -ον, τό, work, deed, achievement.

ἔρημος, -ον, desolate, solitary, abandoned by, left without.

ἐρικυδής, -ές, very glorious.

Ἑρμιονής, -οὺς, ὁ, the father of Lasos.

ἔρομαι, ἐρήσομαι, ἠρόμεν, ask, inquire, question.

ἔρυσμα, -ατος, τό, fence, guard, protection.

ἔρχομαι, ἐλεύσομαι, ἦλθον, ἐλθῆν, come, go; ἐς μάχην ἐλθεῖν, attack.

ἔρωτάω, ask.

ἐς, *pref. c. acc.*, to, into, in the presence of, up to, until, for

(of time), as far as; ἐς τὸ ἔσχατον, extremely.

ἐσβάλλω, -βαλῶ, -έβαλον, throw into, throw an army into, invade.

ἐσπιβάζω, *causal of* ἐσβαίνω, put on board, send into.

ἐσβλέπω, look at, turn the eyes to.

ἐσβολή, -ῆς, ἡ, inroad, invasion, a way into, pass.

ἐσέρχομαι, -ελεύσομαι, -ἦλθον, go into, enter, come into the head, occur to.

ἔσοδος, -ου, ἡ, place of entry, entrance.

ἐσπέρα, -ας, ἡ, evening, the west; πρὸς ἐσπέρας, to the west.

ἐσπίπτω, -πεσοῦμαι, -έπεσον, fall or rush into.

ἔσχατος, -η, -ον, farthest, last, utmost; ἐς τὸ ἔσχατον, to the end.

ἔσω, *adv. and pref. c. acc. or gen.*, within, inside of.

ἐτεροιοῶ, alter; *Pass.*, be changed.

ἕτερος, -α, -ον, the other of two, one of two, the second; οἱ ἕτεροι, one of two parties.

ἔτι, *adv.*, still, even.

ἐτοιμάζω, get ready, prepare, provide.

εἰοῖμος, -ον, ready, at hand, active, zealous.

ἔτος, -ους, τό, year.

εὖ, *adv.*, well.

Εὐαίνετος, -ον, ὁ, Euaenetus, son of Carenus.

εὐδαιμονία, -ας, ἡ, prosperity, good fortune.

εὐδαίμων, -ον, fortunate, happy, wealthy.

εὐδοκίμέω, -ήσω, ἠυδοκίμησα, be held in esteem, be honoured.

εὐειδής, -ές, of goodly form, beautiful.

εὐεργεσία, -ας, ἡ, kindly service,
 good deed, kindness.
 εὐθύς, -εία, -ύ, straight; εὐθείαν,
sc. ὁδόν, εὐθύς, and εὐθύ are
 used as *adv.*, straight to,
 straightway; also as *pref. c.*
gen. εὐθὺ Σκιάθου.
 εὖνοια, -ας, ἡ, goodwill, favour,
 kindness.
 εὖνους, -ουν, well disposed,
 kindly.
 εὐνοῦχος, -ου, ὁ, chamberlain,
 eunuch.
 εὐπετῶς, *adv.*, easily.
 εὐπρεπῶς, *adv.*, decently; εὐ-
 πρεπῶς ἔχειν, to look well, be
 seemly.
 εὕρημα, -ατος, τό, a discovery, a
 windfall, a piece of good
 luck.
 Εὐριπος, -ου, ὁ, the strait which
 separates Euboea from
 Boeotia.
 εὐρίσκω, εὐρίσω, εὕρον *or* ηὔρον,
 find, discover.
 εὖρος, -ους, τό, breadth.
 εὐρύς, -εία, -ύ, wide, broad,
 spacious; τὸ εὐρύτερον, the
 wider part.
 Εὐρυτος, -ου, ὁ, Eurytus, one of
 the Three Hundred.
 εὐρύχορος, -ον, with broad places,
 spacious.
 Εὐρώπη, -ης, ἡ, Europe.
 εὖτε, *adv. of time*, when.
 εὐτυχής, -ές, lucky, prosperous.
 εὐφρόνη, -ης, ἡ, the kindly time,
 night.
 εὐχομαι, εὐξομαι, ηὐξάμην, pray,
 vow, promise.
 ἐφέπομαι, -έψομαι, -εσπόμεν,
 follow, accompany.
 Ἐφιάλτης, -ου, ὁ, a Malian, the
 son of Eurydemus.
 ἐφικνέομαι, -ίξομαι, -ικόμην,
 reach at, extend, touch the
 right points, hit the nail on
 the head; ἐφικέσθαι πλεγὰς

τὸν Ἑλλησποντον, chastise it
 with blows.
 ἐφίστημι, set *or* place upon;
aor. ἐπέστην, stood over *or*
 near, appeared.
 ἔχθρα, -ας, ἡ, hatred, enmity,
 differences.
 ἔχω, ἔξω *or* σχήσω, ἔσχον, have,
 hold; ἐν χερσὶν ἔχειν, have in
 hand; λόγος σ' ἔχει ἀγαθός,
 you are well reported of;
 πράγματα ἔχειν, have trouble;
 ἔχω *with adv.* = εἰμί *with*
adj.; *Midd.*, hold fast to,
 come next to; λόγου ἔχομαι,
 harp upon; λόγου τοιοῦδε
 ἐχόμενα, similar statements.
 ἕως, until, while.
 ἔως, ἔω, ἡ, dawn.

Ζάγκλη, -ης, ἡ, an ancient name
 of Messene, from ζάγκλον, its
 harbour suggesting a reap-
 ing-hook.

ζάω, ζήσω, ἔζησα, live.
 ζεύγνυμι, ζεύξω, ἔζευξα, yoke,
 join, harness, bind, bridge.
 ζεύγος, -ους, τό, a pair, couple.
 ζεύξις, -εως, ἡ, a yoking, joining.
 Ζεὺς, Διός, ὁ, Zeus.
 ζημιόω, cause loss to, damage;
Pass., be fined *or* mulcted in
 a thing.
 ζωγράφω, take alive, take cap-
 tive.
 ζωή, -ῆς, ἡ, life.
 ζώνη, -ης, ἡ, girdle.
 ζῶον, -ου, τό, a living creature,
 animal.
 ζωός, -ή, -όν, alive, living.

ἢ (*disjunctive*), or; (*compara-
 tive*), than.

ἦ (*confirmative*), in truth, of a
 surety; (*interrogative*), can
 it be that?

ἡγεμονεύω, lead the way, rule,
 command.

ἡγεμονία, -ας, ἡ, leading the way, chief command.

ἡγεμών, -όνος, ὁ, ἡ, one who leads, guide, commander.

ἡγέομαι, lead the way, take command.

ἤδη, *adv.*, by now, already, at once.

ἡδομαι, ἡσθήσομαι, ἡσθην, take one's pleasure, be glad, delighted.

ἡδονή, -ῆς, ἡ, pleasure; ἐν ἡδονῇ ἐστίν, it is his good pleasure.

Ἡδωνοί, -ῶν, οἱ, Edoni, a people of Thrace, near the Strymon.

ἥθος, -ους, τό, custom, usage, character; ἥθη, haunts.

Ἡών, -όνος, ἡ (= beach), a town of the Edoni.

ἥκιστα, *adv.*, least.

ἤκω, ἤξω, I am come, am present.

ἥλιος, -ου, ὁ, the sun.

ἡμεῖς, -ῶν, we.

ἡμέρα, -ας, ἡ, day.

ἡμερος, -ον, *also* -α, -ον, tame, reclaimed, cultivated.

ἡμερώω, tame, subdue.

ἡμέτερος, -α, -ον, our.

ἡμισυς, -εια, -υ, half (*used sometimes as adj., sometimes as noun, e.g. τὰ ἡμίσεα τῶν κακῶν*, half their troubles).

ἡμίτομος, -ον, cut in two; *as noun, τὰ ἡμίτομα*, the two halves.

ἦν = εἶν, *if*.

ἡπειρος, -ον, ἡ, mainland, continent.

ἥπιως, *adv.*, mildly.

Ἡρακλείδης, -ον, ὁ, a descendant of Heracles.

Ἡρακλῆς, -έους, ὁ, Heracles, son of Zeus and Alcmena.

ἡσσάομαι, ἡσσηθήσομαι, ἡσσήθην, be less *or* weaker than another, be worsted, defeated.

ἥσσον, *comp. adv.*, less.

ἡσυχία, -ας, ἡ, rest, quiet, ease; καθ' ἡσυχίαν, at one's ease unmolested.

ἡσυχος, -ον, still, at rest, with mind at ease.

θάλασσα, -ης, ἡ, sea.

Θαμᾶσιος, -ον, ὁ, the father of Sandoces.

θάνατος, -ον, ὁ, death.

θάπτω, θάψω, ἔθαψα, ἐθάφθην, ἐτάφην, τέθαμμαι, honour with funeral rites, bury.

θάρσος, -ους, τό, courage.

θαῦμα, -ατος, τό, a wonder, marvel, astonishment.

θαυμάζω, wonder, be astonished.

θαυμάσιος, -α, -ον, wonderful.

θεάομαι, θεάσομαι, ἐθεασάμην, look upon, view.

θεῖος, -α, -ον, of *or* from the gods, divine, heavenly.

θέλω, θελήσω, ἠθέλησα, be willing.

Θεμιστοκλῆς, -έους, ὁ, Themistocles, a famous Athenian commander.

θεός, -οῦ, ὁ, god.

Θέρμα, -ης, ἡ, the port from which Xerxes' naval force sailed.

Θερμοπύλαι, -ῶν, αἱ ('Hot-gates'), the narrow pass from Thessaly to Locris.

Θεσπιεῖς, -ῶν, οἱ, inhabitants of Thespieae in Boeotia.

Θεσσαλία, -ας, ἡ, Thessaly.

Θεσσαλοί, -ῶν, οἱ, inhabitants of Thessaly.

Θηβαῖος, -α, -ον, Theban.

θηρίον, -ου, τό, wild beast, beast.

Θήρων, -ωνος, ὁ, king of Agrigentum in Sicily.

θησαυρός, -οῦ, ὁ, treasure.

θνήσκω, θανοῦμαι, ἔθανον, τέθνηκα (*infin. τεθνηκέναι and τεθνά-*

ναι), die; *often used as the pass. of ἀποκτείνω*, be killed.
 θνητός, -ή, -όν, mortal, human.
 θολερός, -ά, -όν, muddy, foul.
 θόρυβος, -ου, ό, confused noise, tumult, confusion.
 θρόνος, -ου, ό, seat, throne.
 θυγατήρ, θυγατρός, ή, daughter.
 θυμίαμα, -ατος, τό, incense; *in pl.*, fragrant spices, &c., for burning.
 θυμόομαι, -ώσομαι, ἐθυμώην, be angry.
 θυμός, -ου, ό, soul, spirit, courage.
 θύω, offer sacrifices; *Midd.*, have a victim slain, take the auspices.
 ἰάομαι, ἰάσομαι, ἰασάμην, heal.
 Ἰάσων, -ονος, ό, Jason, son of Aeson, leader of the Argonauts.
 ἴδιος, -α, -ον, private, personal, one's own; ἰδίᾳ, *sc.* ὁδῶ, privately, separately.
 ἱερόν, -ου, τό, a holy place, temple; ἱερά, offerings, sacrifices, victims.
 ἵζομαι, sit, take up a position.
 ἱκέτης, -ου, ό, suppliant.
 ἵνα, *adv.*, where; *conj.*, in order that.
 Ἰνάρως, -ω, ό, the son of Psammetichus.
 Ἰνδικός, -ή, -όν, Indian.
 Ἰνδοί, -ῶν, οἱ, Indians.
 Ἰππαρχος, -ου, ό, Hipparchus, son of Peisistratus.
 ἵππεύς, -έως, ό, horseman.
 ἵππος, -ου, ό, a horse. *As a collective noun*, ἵππος, ή, cavalry.
 ἰσθμός, -ου, ό, a neck of land between two seas, an isthmus.
 ἴστημι, στήσω, ἔστησα (*transitive*), cause to stand, place; ἔστην, ἔστηκα, *partic.* ἐστηκώς and ἐστώς (*intrans.*), stand,

take one's stand; *Midd.* ἵστασθαι, begin, take up.
 Ἰσχυένοος, -ου, ό, the father of Pythes.
 ἰσχυρός, -ά, -όν, strong.
 ἰχθυοειδής, -ές, as of a fish.
 Ἴωνες, -ων, οἱ, Ionians.

Κάδμος, -ου, ό, usually the son of the Phoenician king Agenor, but here a Coan, son of Scythes.
 καθαγίζω, dedicate to a god, make a burnt offering.
 καθελίσσω, bandage up.
 κάθημαι, be seated.
 καθίημι, -ήσω, -ήκα, send down, let fall, drop.
 καθίστημι, set down, bring down; *Midd.* καθίσταμαι, be rendered, prove.
 καθοράω, κατόψομαι, κατείδον, *imperf.* -εῶρων, see, observe.
 καθύπερθε, *adv.*, from above, above.
 καθυπνῶω, fall asleep; *Pass.* καθυπνωμένος, asleep.
 καί, and, also, even.
 καίτοι, and yet.
 κακός, -ή, -όν, bad, evil, cowardly, base; *adv.* κακῶς, κύκιστα, evilly; *often as noun*, κακόν, an evil, trial, misfortune.
 καλάμινος, -η, -ον, made of reeds.
 καλέω, -έσω, ἐκάλεσα, call, name, summon.
 καλλιερῶ and καλλιερῶμαι, obtain good omens; καλλιερῆσαι οὐκ ἐδύνατο (τὰ ἱερά), the sacrifices would not give good omens.
 καλλιστεύω, be the most comely.
 κάλλος, -ους, τό, beauty.
 καλός, -ή, -όν, beautiful, noble, goodly; καλῶς ἔχει, it is seemly, well.

Καμβύσης, -ου, ὁ, Cambyses,
father of the elder Cyrus.

κάμηλος, -ου, ὁ, ἡ, camel.

κάμπτω, κάμψω, ἔκαμψα, bend,
double a headland, wind
round a bay.

Κάρηνος, -ου, ὁ, the father of
Euaenetus.

κάρτα, *adv.*, very, extremely.

Καρχηδόσιος, -α, -ον, Cartha-
ginian.

Καρχηδών, -όνος, ἡ, Carthage.

κατά, *prep. c. gen.*, down upon,
over, against; *κατά τῆς θα-
λάσσης*, in the sea; *c. acc.*,
over, throughout, according
to; *κατά τάχος*, with speed;
κατά ἔθνη, by tribes; *κατά
θάλασσαν*, by sea; *κατά νοῦν*,
according to my expectations
or wishes; *καθ' ἡσυχίαν*, un-
molested.

καταβαίνω, -βήσομαι, -έβην, -βέ-
βηκα, go down, *esp. from
inland parts to the sea.*

κατάβασις, -εως, ἡ, going down,
descent, downward path.

καταγελᾶω, -γέλωσω, -εγέλασα,
laugh at, mock.

κατάγυνμι, *perf.* καταῖγα *in pass.*
sense, break, shatter.

καταδουλώω, reduce to slavery.

καταδύω, -δύσω, -έδυσσα, *trans.*,
cause to sink; *καταδύομαι*,
-έδυν, -δέδυνκα, *intrans.*, sink,
be sent to the bottom.

κατακαίω, -καύσω, -έκανσα, burn,
consume by fire.

κατάκειμαι, -κείσομαι, lie down,
lie on a bed of sickness.

κατακρεουργέω *or* κατακρεοργέω,
cut to pieces.

κατακρίνω, -κρίνω, -έκρινα, give
sentence against, condemn:
κατεκέκριτο θάνατος, sentence
of death had been passed.

καταλαμβάνω, -λήψομαι, -έλαβον,
-είληφα, lay hold of, come

suddenly upon, surprise,
arrest.

καταλέγω, pick out, choose, re-
count.

καταλείπω, -λείψω, -έλιπον, *aur.*
pass. -ελείφθην, leave behind.

καταλύω, put down, break up;
Midd., bring to an end, make
an end of.

καταμανθάνω, -μαθήσομαι, -έμα-
θον, learn thoroughly, learn
all about, discover.

καταμένω, -μενῶ, -έμεινα, stay
behind.

καταπατέω, trample under foot.

καταπλέω, -πλεύσομαι, -έπλευσα,
sail down, *esp.* from the high
seas to the land.

καταρρήγνυμι, -ρήξω, -έρρηξα,
break down, tear in pieces.

κατασκήπτω, -σκήψω, -έσκηψα,
fall upon.

κατάσκοπος, -ου, ὁ, scout, spy.

κατασπάω, -σπάσω, -έσπασα,
draw down, *esp.* haul ships
down, launch.

καταστρέφω, -στρέψω, -έστρεψα,
turn upside down, overturn;
Midd., subject to oneself.

κατατίθημι, -θήσω, -έθηκα, *aur.*
partic. καταθείς, put down;
ἐς μέσον κ. τὴν ἀρχήν, give
them an equal share in the
government.

καταφοιτάω, come down regu-
larly.

καταφυγή, -ης, ἡ, refuge, means
of escape.

καταχαίρω, exult over.

καταχώννυμι, -χώσω, -έχωσα,
overwhelm.

κάτειμι (εἶμι), go down, sweep
down upon, penetrate.

κατεργάζομαι, -άσομαι, -ειργασά-
μην, accomplish, prevail up-
on.

κατέχω, καθέξω *and* κατασχήσω,
κατέσχον, hold fast, check,

- gain possession of, keep;
Midd. κατασχέσθαι, keep for one's own use.
- κατοικέω, settle in, colonize, inhabit, occupy.
- κατοικτείρω (κατοικτίρω), -οικτερω, -ώκτειρα, have mercy or compassion on, feel compassion.
- κατορρωδέω, be dismayed at, dread.
- κατορύσσω, -ξω, -ώρυξα, bury.
- κάτω, *adv.*, down, below, southward; *superl.* κατώτατα, on the lowest level.
- καυχάομαι, boast.
- κεῖμαι, κείσομαι, *imperf.* ἐκείμην (*used as pass. of τίθημι*), be laid, lie, be stored.
- κείνος, -η, -ο, *demonstr. pron.*, that yonder, the former.
- κελεύω, -σω, ἐκέλευσα, urge, exhort, order, request.
- κενός, -ή, -όν, empty; δελτίον κενόν, blank tablet.
- κεραίω, ravage, attack, prey upon.
- κέρας, κέρατος and κέρως, τό, the horn of an animal; the wing of an army or fleet.
- κεραυνώω, strike with thunderbolts.
- κέρδος, -ους, τό, gain, profit.
- κεφαλή, -ῆς, ἡ, head.
- κήδομαι, be concerned for, be anxious.
- Κήρ, Κηρός, ἡ, goddess of doom and death.
- κηρός, -οῦ, ὁ, bees-wax.
- κήρυγμα, -ατος, τό, proclamation, public notice.
- κηρυκεία, -ας, ἡ, the office of herald; an embassy.
- κῆρυξ, -υκός, ὁ, herald, ambassador.
- Κηφεύς, έως, ὁ, Cepheus, a king of Ethiopia, father of Andromeda.
- Κίτων, -ωνος, ὁ, a son of Miltiades.
- κινδυνεύω, be venturesome, run a risk.
- κίνδυνος, -ου, ὁ, danger, risk.
- Κίσσιοι, -ων, οἱ, inhabitants of Cissia, in southern Persia.
- κλεινός, -ή, -όν, famous, renowned.
- Κλεομένης, -ους, ὁ, father of Gorgo.
- κλέος, τό (*used only in nom. and acc.*), report, fame, glory.
- κνίζω, chafe, trouble, annoy.
- κοινός, -ή, -όν, common, shared in common.
- κοίτη, -ης, ἡ, bed.
- κολούω, cut short, put down, abase.
- κόλπος, -ου, ὁ, bosom, bay, gulf.
- Κολχίς, -ίδος, *fem. adj.*, of Colchis.
- κολωνός, -οῦ, ὁ, hill.
- κόμη, -ης, ἡ, hair.
- κομίζω, κομιῶ, ἐκόμισα, take care of; *Midd.*, journey, travel (by land or sea).
- κόρυμβος, -ου, ὁ, top, head, highest part.
- κοσμέω and κοσμέομαι, adorn.
- κρατέω, be strong, have the mastery, rule, get possession of.
- κρατήρ, -ῆρος, ὁ, mixing-bowl.
- κράτος, -ους, τό, strength, sovereignty, supremacy.
- κρεμάννυμι, κρεμῶ, ἐκρέμασα, hang; *pass. imperf.* ἐκρεμάμην, be suspended.
- κρημνός, -οῦ, ὁ, cliff, edge of a trench.
- Κρητήνης, -ου, ὁ, father of Ameinocles.
- κτάομαι, κτήσομαι, ἐκτησάμην, κέκτημαι, get, gain, acquire; *perf.* possess.
- κτείνω κτενῶ, ἔκτεινα, kill, slay.

κτενίζω, comb.

κτήνος, -ους, τό, a beast, *e. g.* an ox or mule.

Κύθηρα, -ων, τά, Cythera, *mod.* Cerigo, an island south of Laconia.

κύκλος, -ου, ό, circle.

κῦμα, -ατος, τό, the swell of the sea, wave.

Κύμη, -ης, ή, in Aeolia.

κυρέω, -ήσω, ἐκύρησα, light upon, find.

κύων, κυνός, ό, ή, dog.

κῶας, τό, fleece.

Κῶος, -α, -ον, of *or* from the island of Cos, Coan.

Λάκαινα, -ης, ή (*fem. of* Λάκων), a Laconian woman; *often used, with or without* χώρα, *for* the Laconian country, Lacedaemon.

Λακεδαιμόνιος, -α, -ον, Lacedaemonian.

Λακεδαίμων, -ονος, ή, Lacedaemon, the capital of Laconia.

Λακωνικός, -ή, -όν, Laconian.

λαμβάνω, λήψομαι, ἔλαβον, ἔληφα, take, seize, receive.

λανθάνω, λήσω, ἔλαθον, ἐλήθηα, escape notice, be unnoticed; ἀναβαίνοντες ἐλάνθανον, went up unobserved.

Λάσος, -ου, ό, son of Hermiones.

λέγω, λέξω, ἔλεξα, say, speak; ὡς λέγεται, as the story is told.

λειμών, -ῶνος, ό, meadow.

λείος, -α, -ον, smooth, level.

λείπω, λείψω, ἔλιπον, leave, leave behind, desert.

λεπίς, -ίδος, ή, scale, the scales of a fish.

λέων, -οντος, ό, lion.

Λεωνίδας, -ου, ό, Leonidas, son of Anaxandridas, a king of Sparta, who fell at Thermopylae.

Λεωπρέπης, -ους, ό, father of Simonides.

Λήμνος, -ου, ή, Lemnos, an island in the Aegean Sea.

Λίβυς, -νος, ό, a Libyan.

λίθινος, -η, -ον, made of stone.

λιποψυχέω, fail in courage.

λογίζομαι, λογισθῆναι, ἐλογισάμην, compute, calculate.

λόγος, -ου, ό, word, saying, statement, story; λόγον οὐδένα ποιεῖσθαι, hold of no account; ἐλθεῖν ἐς τοῦτου λόγον, to this state of things.

λοιπός, -ή, -όν, remaining, the rest.

Λοκροί, -ῶν, οἱ, the Locrians. The Opuntian Locrians were opposite Euboea.

Λυδός, -οῦ, ό, a Lydian.

λυπέω, vex, distress.

Μάγνης, -ητος, ό, a Magnesian, from Magnesia.

Μαγνησία, -ας, ή, Magnesia, a country in Thessaly.

μακαρίζω, deem happy.

Μακεδονία, -ας, ή, Macedon, between Thessaly and Thrace.

Μακεδών, -όνος, ό, ή, a Macedonian.

μακρός, -ά, -όν, long (*of space or time*).

μάλιστα, *adv., superl. of* μάλα, most of all, about; ὡς μάλιστα, as much as possible; *comp.* μᾶλλον, more.

μαθάνω, μαθήσομαι, ἔμαθον, learn, notice, understand.

μάντις, -εως, ό, seer, prophet.

Μαραθών, -ῶνος, ό, an Attic deme on the east coast of Attica, the scene of the victory of Miltiades.

Μαρδόνιος, -ου, ό, a Persian general, son-in-law of Darius.

Μάρων, -ωνος, ό, son of Orsiphantus.

μαστιγόω, flog.

μάστιξ, -ῖνος, ἡ, a whip, scourge.

μάταιος, -α, -ον, vain, empty, idle, thoughtless.

μάχαιρα, -ας, ἡ, knife, sword.

μάχη, -ης, ἡ, battle.

μάχομαι, μαχοῦμαι, ἐμαχεσάμην, μεμάχημαι, fight.

Μεγακρέων, -οντος, ὁ, Megacreon of Abdera.

μεγαλοφροσύνη, -ης, ἡ, nobleness of mind; ὑπὸ μεγαλοφροσύνης, magnanimously.

μεγάλως, *adv.* of μέγας, greatly, exceedingly.

μέγας, μεγάλη, μέγα, great, glorious; μέγα, greatly.

μέγεθος, -ους, τό, greatness, size, stature.

Μεγιστίας, -ου, ὁ, a seer.

μέδιμνος, -ου, ὁ, a measure containing 6 ἑκτεῖς, nearly 12 gallons.

μεθίημι, -ήσω, -ήκα, let loose; *perf. partic. pass.* μεθειμένοι, released.

μέλλω, μελλήσω, ἐμέλλησα, be about to do, intend.

μέμνημαι, μνήσομαι and μνησθήσομαι, ἐμνησάμην, ἐμνήσθην, remember.

μέμφομαι, μέμφομαι, ἐμεμφάμην, blame.

μέν, *particle commonly used to contrast a word in one sentence with another (followed by δέ) in a correlative sentence, τοῦτο μὲν . . . ἐκεῖνο δέ. Also used with other particles, as μὲν οὖν, μὲν δὴ.*

μένος, -ους, τό, might, force, strength.

μέντοι, yet, however.

μένω, μενῶ, ἔμεινα, remain.

μέσος, -η, -ον, middle, in the middle, in half; ἐς μέσον, in public, for all in common.

Μεσσήνη, -ης, ἡ, a name given

to Zancle (*now* Messina) in the NE. of Sicily.

μετά, *prep. c. gen.*, with; *c. acc.*, after, in pursuit of; *c. dat.* (*rare*), with; *also used as adv.*, and then, subsequently.

μεταβάλλω, -βαλῶ, -έβαλον, -βέβληκα, turn about, change.

μεταβουλεύω, *Act. and Midd.*, change one's mind, alter one's plans.

μεταγινώσκω, -γνώσομαι, -έγνω, change one's mind, repent.

μεταδίδωμι, -δώσω, give part of, give a share in.

μεταδοκέω, -δόξω, -έδοξα, change one's opinion; μεταδεδογμένον μοι, since I have changed my mind.

μεταιτέω, demand a share of.

μεταμέλει, -μελήσει, -εμέλησε, repent.

μεταξύ, *adv.*, between; ἐν τῇ μεταξύ, in the district between.

μεταπέμπομαι, send for, summon.

μετέπειτα, *adv.*, afterwards.

μέτρον, -ου, τό, a measure, rule, measurement.

μέχρι, *prep. c. gen.*, as far as, up to, about; *conjunct.*, as long as, until.

μή, *adv. of negation with imperatives, in conditional and final clauses, and with most infinitives*, not, lest.

μηδέ, and not, not even.

μηδεῖς, μηδεμία, μηδέν, and not one, no one; μηδέν, not at all.

μηδίζω, medize, *i. e.* imitate the Medes or Persians in manners, dress, &c.

Μῆδοι, -ων, οἱ, Medes.

μηκέτι, *adv.*, no longer.

μήνις, μῆνις, ἡ, wrath.

μήτε, neither, nor.

μητρόθεν, *adv.*, from the mother, on the mother's side.

μηχανάομαι, -ήσομαι, ἐμηχανησά-
μην, contrive, devise.

Μιλτιάδης, -ου, ὁ, Miltiades, father of Cimon.

μνήμα, -ατος, τό, memorial, record.

μνημόσυνον, -ον, τό, remembrance, memorial.

μόνος, -η, -ον, alone, forsaken, solitary; *adv.* μόνον, only.

μονῶω, leave in solitude; *generally in pass.*, be left alone, forsaken.

μόριον, -ου, τό, portion, section.

Μουσαῖος, -ου, ὁ, Musaeus, an ancient Greek poet.

μοχθηρός, -ά, -όν, miserable, wretched.

μυριάς, -άδος, ἡ, a myriad, number of 10,000.

μύριοι, -αι, -α, 10,000.

μυρσίνη, -ης, ἡ, myrtle.

ναυαγία, -ας, ἡ, shipwreck, destruction of a fleet.

ναυμαχέω, fight at sea, engage in a naval battle.

ναυμαχία, -ας, ἡ, sea-fight.

ναῦς, νεώς, ἡ, ship.

ναυτικός, -ή, -όν, connected with a ship, naval; τὸ ναυτικόν, the fleet.

νεῖκος, -ους, τό, strife, conflict.

νεκρός, -όν, ὁ, dead body; οἱ νεκροί, the dead.

νέμομαι, inhabit, occupy.

Νεοκλῆς, -έους, ὁ, father of Themistocles.

νέος, -α, -ον, young, youthful, new; *comp.* νεώτερος, revolutionary.

νεότης, -ητος, ἡ, youth, youthful impetuosity.

Νέστος, -ου, ὁ, a river flowing through Abdera.

νεωστί, *adv.*, lately, just now.

νηνεμία, -ας, ἡ, absence of wind, calm.

νικάω, conquer, prevail.

Νικόλης, -ου, ὁ, a Spartan.

νομίζω, νομιῶ, ἐνόμισα, consider, deem.

νόμιμος, -η, -ον, customary, established.

νόμος, -ου, ὁ, law, custom.

νόσος, -ου, ἡ, disease.

ἵστέω, go *or* come back, return.

νοῦς, νοῦ, ὁ, mind, sense, purpose.

νῦν, *adv.*, now.

νυν, *enclitic*, now, so then, accordingly.

νύξ, νυκτός, ἡ, night.

ὁ, ἡ, τό, *def. art.*, the; *with μέν or δέ it may be demonstrative*, οἱ μέν . . . they on the one hand . . .

ὅδε, ἧδε, τόδε, this (*near me*).

ὁδός, -οῦ, ἡ, road, way.

οδοφύλαξ, -ακος, ὁ, a watcher of the roads.

οἶδα, *perf. used as pres.* (*from εἶδω*), εἶσομαι, ἤδη, know.

οἰκεῖος, -α, -ον, in *or* of the house, in one's own country.

οἰκέτης, -ου, ὁ, house-slave, domestic.

οἰκέω, οἰκήσω, ᾤκησα, inhabit, settle, dwell.

οἶκημα, -ατος, τό, dwelling, building, room.

οἰκῆτωρ, -ορος, ὁ, inhabitant.

οἰκίζω, οἰκιῶ, ᾤκισα, found a city, settle in a country.

οἶκος, -ου, ὁ, house, home.

οἰκτρός, -ά, -όν, pitiable, lamentable; *comp.* οἰκρότερος.

οἰμῶζω, lament, rue the day.

οἶος, οἶα, οἶον, of what kind, *correlative of τοιόσδε*, (of such kind) as; οἶός τε εἰμί, I am able; οἶα, as.

οἷστός, -οῦ, ὁ, arrow.
 Οἰταῖος, -α, -ον, of *or* belonging to Oeta, a mountain in Thes-saly.
 οἰχόμεαι, οἰχήσομαι, be gone.
 ὀκτακισχίλιοι, -αι, -α, 8,000.
 ὀλίγος, -η, -ον, few, little, scanty.
 ὅλος, -η, -ον, whole, complete.
 Ὀλύμπος, -ον, ὁ, a mt. on the Macedonian frontier of Thes-saly.
 ὄμιλος, -ον, ὁ, throng, thick of the fighting.
 ὁμόγλωσσος, -ον, speaking the same language.
 ὅμοιος, -α, -ον, like, resembling; *adv.* ὁμοίως, in like manner, just as.
 ὁμολογία, -ας, ἡ, agreement; ὁμολογία ἂν ἐχρήσαντο, would have come to an under-standing.
 ὁμόσιτος, -ον, having their meals together.
 ὁμοῦ, *adv.*, together.
 ὁμοφρονέω, have the same thoughts, share another's views.
 ὁμφαλός, -οῦ, ὁ, the navel.
 ὅμως, notwithstanding, still, however.
 ὀνειδος, -ους, τό, reproach, blame, taunt.
 ὄνειρον, -ον, τό, dream.
 ὄνομα, -ατος, τό, name.
 Ὀνομάκριτος, -ον, ὁ, an Athe-nian.
 ὀνομαστός, -ή, -όν, to be named, famous.
 ὄντως, *adv.*, really.
 ὅπῃ, *sc.* ὁδῷ (*from obsolete ὅπος*), by what route.
 ὀπίσθε, *adv.*, behind.
 ὀπίσω, *adv.*, backwards, back, again.
 ὀπλίτης, -ον, ὁ, heavy-armed foot-soldier.

ὄπλον, -ον, τό, any sort of imple-ment, *esp.* the heavy shield of the ὀπλίτης; τὰ ὄπλα, arms.
 ὀποδαπός, -ή, -όν, of what country.
 ὀπόσος, -η, -ον, how many.
 ὀπότε, when, whenever, to see when.
 ὀπότερος, -α, -ον, which of two.
 ὅπου, where.
 Ὀπούντιοι, -ων, οἱ, that tribe of the Locri who came from Opūs.
 ὅπως, *adv.* of manner, how; *final conjunction*, in order that.
 ὀράω, ὄψομαι, εἶδον, ἑώρακα, see.
 ὀρθός, -ή, -όν, upright, straight, correct, genuine; *adv.* ὀρθῶς, aright.
 ὀρμάω, -ήσω, ὀρμησα, urge on, stir up, induce; *Midd. and Pass.*, start, be eager, rush upon.
 ὄρμος, -ον, ὁ, roadstead, an-chorage.
 ὄρος, -ους, τό, mountain, hill.
 ὄρος, -ον, ὁ, boundary, limit.
 ὀρρωδία, -ας, ἡ, terror, alarm.
 Ὀρσίφαντος, -ον, ὁ, a Lacedae-monian, father of Maron.
 ὄρυγμα, -ατος, τό, excavation, trench.
 ὀρύσσω, ὀρύξω, ὀρυξα, dig.
 ὅς, ἤ, ὅ, *relat. pron.*, who, which.
 ὥσος, -η, -ον, as great as, how great.
 ὥπερ, ἥπερ, ὅπερ, a stronger form of the relative, the very man who.
 Ὅσσα, -ης, ἡ, a mountain in Thessaly.
 ὅστις, ἥτις, ὅτι, *rel. pron.*, who, whoever.
 ὅταν, for ὅτ' ἂν, when, when-ever.

ὅτι, *conj.*, that; *causal particle*, because.

οὐ, οὐκ, οὐχ (οὐ *before consonant*, οὐκ *before smooth breathing*, οὐχ *before rough*), not.

οὐδαμοῦ, *adv.*, nowhere.

οὐδαμῶς, *adv.*, in no wise.

οὐδέ, but not, and not, nor; *often like Lat.* 'ne . . . quidem', not even.

οὐδεὶς, οὐδεμία, οὐδέν (*for οὐδέ εἷς*, not even one), no one.

οὖν, then, therefore; μέν οὖν *is corrective*, nay rather; δ' οὖν, be that as it may.

οὔπω, not yet.

οὐρος (*Ion. for ὄρος*), boundary, territory.

οὖς, ὠτός, τό, ear.

οὐσία, -ας, ἡ, property.

οὔτε, neither, nor.

οὗτος, αὕτη, τοῦτο, *demons. pron.*, this, he, she, it.

οὕτω, οὕτως, *adv. of οὗτος*, in this way, thus.

ὀφείλω, ὀφειλήσω, ὄφελον, owe, be bound, be obliged, be liable to.

ὀφθαλμιάω, suffer from eye-trouble.

ὀψία (*sc. ὥρα*), the latter part of the day, evening.

ὄψις, -εως, ἡ, look, appearance, aspect, presence, vision.

Παγασαί, -ῶν, αἱ, a town in Thessaly, whence the Argonauts sailed.

πάγχυ, *adv.* (*Ion. for πᾶν*), quite, altogether.

παιδοφόνος, -ον, killing children; παιδοφόνος *συμφορά*, the calamity of having killed a son.

παῖς, παιδός, ὁ, ἡ, child.

παλλακή, -ῆς, ἡ, a mistress.

πανδημεῖ, *adv.*, with the whole people, in a body.

πανοικία, *adv.*, with all the house.

πανστρατιά, *adv.*, with the whole army.

πάντοθεν, *adv.*, from every side.

παντοῖος, -α, -ον, of all kinds, manifold.

πάντως, *adv.*, altogether, absolutely.

παρά, *prep. c. gen.*, from the side of; *c. dat.*, by the side of, in the presence of; *c. acc.*, to the side of, beside, contrary to, by means of, as the result of, during.

πάρα = πάρεστι.

παραβάλλω, -βαλῶ, -έβαλον, throw or lay beside; *intr.* approach, go (by sea), cross over.

παραγγέλλω, pass on a message, pass orders down the ranks, give orders.

παραγίγνομαι, -γενήσομαι, -εγενόμην, find oneself near, come up to support.

παραδέχομαι, -δέξομαι, -εδεξάμην, receive from another, receive as an inheritance.

παραδίδωμι, -δώσω, -έδωκα, hand over, transmit, surrender.

παραιτέομαι, -ήσομαι, ask a favour from, intercede with, entreat.

παραιωρέω, hang up beside; *perf. partic. pass.* παραιωρούμενα, suspended at their side.

παρακομίζω, escort, convoy, carry.

παραλαμβάνω, -λήψομαι, -έλαβον, receive from another, invite to join an alliance.

παραμείβομαι, -αμείβομαι, -ημειψάμην, go past, leave on one side.

παρανομέω, transgress the law, commit an outrage.
 παρασκευάζω, get ready, prepare, provide.
 παραντίκα, *adv.*, immediately.
 παραχράομαι, misuse, treat with contempt, fight recklessly.
 παραχρήμα, *adv.*, on the spot, straightway.
 πάρεδρος, -ον, sitting beside, assessor, counsellor.
 πάρειμι (εἰμί), be present, be at hand; τὰ παρόντα, the present state of things; πάρεστι, there is an opportunity; παρόν, though there was an opportunity.
 πάρεμι (εἰμι), go past, come forward; ἐς πρώτους παριών, coming to the front.
 παρενθήκη, -ης, ἡ, something put in beside something else, an addition.
 παρέχω, παρέξω *or* παρασχίσω, παρέσχον, furnish, supply; πόνον διπλάσιον παρείχον, doubled the work; *Midd.*, display.
 παρηγορέω *and* παρηγοροῦμαι, address, exhort, advise.
 παρθένος, -ου, ἡ, girl, maiden.
 παρήμι, -ήσω, -ήκα, pass over, omit, remit, allow to pass.
 παρίστημι, παραστήσω, -έστησα (*trans.*), place beside, offer; παρέστην, -έστηκα, *and* *Pass.* (*intrans.*), stand by, occur, come into the head.
 πάροικος, -ον, neighbouring, with neighbours.
 παροίχομαι, -οιχόσομαι, -όχηκα, have passed, be gone.
 τὰς, πᾶσα, πᾶν, all, every.
 πάσχω, πείσομαι, ἔπαθον, πέπονθα, experience; κακῶς πάσχειν, be ill off, ill-treated; εὖ πάσχειν, be well off, well treated.

πατήρ, πατρός, ὁ, father.
 πάτρωσ, -ωος, ὁ, a father's brother, uncle.
 παύω, παύσω, ἔπαυσα, check, cause to cease, hinder.
 πέδη, -ης, ἡ, fetter.
 πεδίον, -ου, τό, a plain.
 πεζός, -ή, -όν, on foot, on land.
 πείθω, πείσω, ἔπεισα, persuade; *Pass. and Midd.*, be prevailed on; πείθου, listen, comply.
 πείρα, -ας, ἡ, trial, attempt; ἀπὸ πείρας, by experiment.
 πειράω, -άσω, ἐπείρασα, make trial of, make an attempt upon; *more common as Dep.*, attempt, try, try one's fortune.
 Πεισιστρατίδαι, -ῶν, οἱ, sons of Peisistratus, Hippias and Hipparchus.
 Πεισίστρατος, -ον, ὁ, despot of Athens.
 πέλαγος, -ους, τό, the open sea.
 Πελοπίδης, -ου, ὁ, descendant of Pelops, grandfather of Agamemnon.
 Πελοποννήσιος, -α, -ον, belonging to the Peloponnesus.
 Πελοπόννησος (Πελοπόννασος), -ου, ἡ, Peloponnesus, the Peloponnese, *modern* Morea.
 πέμπτος, -η, -ον, fifth.
 πέμπω, πέμψω, ἔπεμψα, send, send word.
 πενθέω, bewail, lament.
 πεντεκαίδεκα, οἱ, αἱ, τά, fifteen.
 πέρβω, πέρσω, ἔπερσα, ravage, lay waste.
 περί, *prep. c. gen.*, about, on account of; *c. dat.*, round about, for; *c. acc.*, about, with regard to.
 περιαγγέλλω, -αγγελῶ, -ήγγειλα, announce by messages sent round, send round orders.
 περιάγω, -άξω, -ήγαγον, lead round.

περιβάλλω, -βαλῶ, -έβαλον, throw round.

περιγράφω, -γράφω, -έγραψα, draw *or* mark round.

περιδεής, -ές, very fearful, much alarmed.

περιείμι, -έσομαι, -ἦν, survive, remain alive.

περιέπω, -έψω, -έσπον, *imperf.* περιίπον, treat.

περιέρχομαι, -ελεύσομαι, -ἦλθον, come round.

περιέχω, -έξω *or* -σχίσω, -έσχον, surround; *Midd.*, hold one's hands round, protect, cling to, be fond of.

περικαλλής, -ές, very beautiful.

περίοδος, -ον, ἡ, a marching round, flanking movement, a way round.

περιοικέω, dwell round.

περιοικοδομέω, build round.

περιποιέω, make to survive, save.

περιστάδόν, *adv.*, standing round about.

Περραιβοί, -ῶν, οἱ, a people of northern Thessaly, between Tempe and Mount Pindus.

Περσεΐδης, -ον, ὁ, descendant of Perseus.

Περσεύς, -έως, ὁ, Perseus, son of Zeus and Danae.

Πέρσης, -ον, ὁ, a Persian.

Περσικός, -ή, -όν, Persian.

Περσίς, -ίδος, ἡ, a Persian woman; *used also as fem. of* Περσικός.

πήγνυμι, πήξω, ἔπηξα, πέπηγα (*used in pass. sense*), fix, put together, build.

Πηνειός, -οῦ, ὁ, an important river in Thessaly, rising in Mount Pindus.

πικρός, -ά, -όν, keen, bitter, harsh, cruel.

πίλος, -ου, ὁ, felt cap.

πίμπλημι, πλίσω, ἔπλησα, fill, satisfy.

πίπτω, πεσοῦμαι, ἔπεσον, πέπτωκα, fall.

πλείστος, -η, -ον, *superl. of* πολὺς, very many, most; *περὶ* πλείστον ποιεῖσθαι, consider of great importance; τὴν γνώμην πλείστος εἰμι, I am strongly of opinion that . . .

πλέω, πλεύσομαι, ἔπλευσα, sail.

πλέων *or* πλείων, *comp. of* πολὺς, more; οἱ πλείονες, the majority.

πληγή, -ῆς, ἡ, blow, stroke.

πληθός, -ους, τό, a great number, multitude, number.

πληθώρα, -ας, ἡ, fulness.

πλὴν, *prep. c. gen.*, except; *adv.*, save, except.

πλήρης, -ες, full, filled with.

πληρόω, make full, satisfy, man (a ship *or* a wall).

πλοῖον, -ον, τό, ship.

πλούσιος, -α, -ον, rich.

ποιέω, ποιήσω, ἐποίησα, *verb. adj.* ποιήτεος, make, do; δεινότερα ποιεῖν, be more indignant *or* irate.

ποικίλος, -η, -ον, many-coloured, embroidered.

ποινή, -ῆς, ἡ, quit-money, vengeance, punishment, satisfaction.

ποιός, -α, -ον, of what kind?

πολέμαρχος, -ον, ὁ, leader in war, brigadier.

πολεμέω, be at war, make war.

πολέμιος, -α, -ον, of *or* belonging to war, hostile; τὰ πολέμια, war, warlike operations.

πόλεμος, -ον, ὁ, war.

πολιορκέω, hem in a city, besiege.

πόλις, -εως, ἡ, city.

πολλάκις, *adv.*, often.

πολλαπλάσιος, -α, -ον, many

times as many, many times larger.
 πολὺς, πολλή, πολὺ, many, much; οἱ πολλοί, the greater number; πολὺ, πολλά, *used adverbially*, very much.
 πόνος, -ου, ὁ, labour, toil, hardship, distress.
 Πόντος, -ου, ὁ, *sc.* Εὔξεινος, the Euxine Sea, *mod.* Black Sea.
 πορεύομαι, -εῖσομαι, ἐπορευσάμεν, go, march, travel.
 πόσος, -η, -ον, how many? how much?
 ποταμός, -ου, ὁ, river.
 ποτε, *enclitic*, at some time or other, ever, once; ὅ τι ποτέ, what in the world.
 ποτήριον, -ου, τό, drinking-cup.
 ποῦ, *interrog. adv.*, where?
 που, *enclitic*, anywhere, somewhere, possibly, I suppose.
 ποῦς, ποδός, ὁ, foot.
 πρᾶγμα, -ατος, τό, deed, thing, matter, affair; πρᾶγμα ὁ πράγματα παρέχειν, cause trouble; πρᾶγμα ποιεῖσθαι, make much of, consider important.
 Πραξίνος, -ου, ὁ, commander of Troezenian vessel.
 πρᾶσσω, πράξω, ἔπραξα, achieve, accomplish, manage, carry out, do *or* fare (well, ill).
 πρατήριον, -ου, τό, market.
 πρεσβύτερος, -α, -ον, elder; πρεσβύτατος, eldest.
 πρίν, *adv.*, before, formerly; *conj.*, before that, ere.
 πρό, *pref. c. gen.*, before, in front of, in defence of, more than, rather than; πρὸ τοῦ, ὀλίγον πρὸ τούτων, before this.
 προαγορεύω, tell *or* advise beforehand, declare in public.
 προβαίνω, -βήσομαι, προὔβην, -βέβηκα, advance, make progress.

πρόγονος, -ον, early born, forefather, ancestor.
 προδίδωμι, -δάσω, προῦδωκα, hand over, give up, betray, fail, run dry.
 πρόδρομος, -ον, running forward, going in advance; οἱ πρόδρομοι, the advanced guard.
 προείπον, state before, proclaim *or* declare publicly.
 προθυμία, -ας, ἡ, readiness, zeal; πᾶσαν προθ. παρέχεσθαι, display the utmost eagerness.
 πρόθυμος, -ον, ready, willing, eager.
 προκαταλύω, break up, end, *or* annul before.
 προλείπω, -λείψω, προὔλιπον, leave behind, forsake, fail.
 προοῖδα, know beforehand.
 προοράω, -ύσομαι, -εἶδον, -εόρακα, see before one, foresee, provide for.
 προπυνθάνομαι, learn *or* hear beforehand.
 πρὸς, *pref. c. gen.*, from, at the hand of, by; πρὸς θεῶν, in heaven's name; πρὸς ἑσπέρας, towards the west; *c. dat.*, near, in addition to, in the presence of; *c. acc.*, to, towards, against, with reference to.
 προσάντης, -ες, uphill, steep, irksome, painful.
 προσδέχομαι, -δέξομαι, -εδεξάμην, receive, accept, await.
 προσδοκάω, expect, await.
 προσδόκιμος, -ον, expected, looked for.
 πρόσειμι (εἶμι), go towards, approach, march to the attack.
 πρόσειμι (εἶμί), be added to, be at hand.
 προσελαύνω, ride towards, ride up.
 προσκοπέω, -σκέψομαι, προὔ-

σκεψάμην, see beforehand, weigh well, provide for.
 προσκτάομαι, -ήσομαι, gain *or* win besides.
 προσκυνέω, make obeisance.
 πρόσσδος, -ον, ἡ, a going to, onset, attack.
 προσορέγομαι, be urgent *or* pressing.
 προσπίπτω, -πεσοῦμαι, -έπεσον, -πέπτωκα, fall upon, fall at another's feet, befall.
 προσπλέω, -πλεύσομαι, -έπλευσα, sail towards *or* against.
 προσπταίω, suffer—defeat *or* severe loss.
 προστάσσω, -τάξω, -έταξα, *pass.* -τέταγμαι, -ετάχην, post at a place, appoint, command.
 προσφέρω, bring to, employ; *Pass.*, be borne against, attack; deal with, behave.
 προσχωρέω, approach, come over, join.
 πρόσω, *adv.*, forward, onwards, farther; ἐς τὸ πρόσω, forward.
 πρότερος, -α, -ον, *comp. adj.* connected with πρό, earlier, previous, former; πρότερον τούτων, before this.
 προτίθημι, -θήσω, προὔθηκα, *aor. infn.* προθεῖναι, set before, offer.
 πρόφασις, -εως, ἡ, alleged cause, plea, pretence, excuse; ἐπὶ προφάσεως, on this pretext.
 προφέρω, προοίσω, προήνεγκα, bring before, present, put forward, declare (πόλεμον).
 προφυλάσσω, keep guard before, be on guard, keep a look out.
 προῦρα, -ας, ἡ, forepart of a ship, prow.
 πρώτος, -η, -ον, first; ἐς πρώτους, to the highest class; ἐν πρώτοις, especially; πρώτον,

πρῶτα, *used adverbially*, first.
 Πύθης, -ου, ὁ, Pythes, son of Ischenoos.
 Πύθιος, -α, -ον, connected with Pytho. Πυθία, *sc.* ἱέρεια, the priestess of Pythian Apollo.
 πυκνός, -ή, -όν, closely packed, frequent, thick.
 πυνθάνομαι, πεύσομαι, ἐπυθόμην, πέπυσμαι, learn by hearsay *or* inquiry.
 πῦρ, πυρός, τό, fire.
 πυρά, -ās, ἡ, funeral-pyre.
 πυρός, -οῦ, ὁ, wheat.
 πῶς, *adv.*, how?
 πως, *enclitic adv.*, by any means, in some way *or* other.
 ραπίζω, strike with a stick.
 ρεῖθρον, -ου, τό, stream, channel.
 ῥέπω, ῥέψω, ἔρρεψα, incline downwards, sink (of a scale), drag down the scale.
 ῥέω, ῥυήσομαι, ἔρρῳην, flow.
 ῥήμα, -ατος, τό, word, saying, phrase.
 ῥύομαι, draw out of danger, rescue, protect.
 ῥώμη, -ης, ἡ, strength.
 Σάκαι, -ῶν, οἱ, a Scythian people of northern Asia.
 Σαλαμίς, -ῖνος, ἡ, an island and town in the Saronic Gulf, opposite Eleusis.
 Σάμιοι, -ων, οἱ, the people of Samos.
 Σανδώκης, -ου, ὁ, son of Thamasios.
 Σάνη, -ης, ἡ, a town in Acte (Chalcidice), near the head of the sinus Singiticus.
 Σάρδεϊς, -εων, αἱ, Sardes *or* Sardis, capital of Lydia.
 σαφής, -ές, clear, manifest; *poetic adv.*, σάφα, full well.

σεαυτόν, σεαυτήν, *reflex. pron. 2nd pers.*, thyself.

σεμνός, -ή, -όν, revered, holy.

σημαίνω, σημαίνω, ἐσήμηνα, indicate, make known.

Σηπιάς, -άδος, ἡ, a promontory of Magnesia.

σιδήρεος, -α, -ον, made of iron.

Σικελία, -ας, ἡ, Sicily.

Σιμωνίδης, -ου, ὁ, the famous lyric poet of Ceos (556-467 B.C.).

σινδών, σινδόνομος, ἡ, fine linen, cambric.

σίνομαι, harm, plunder, do mischief to.

σιταγωγός, -όν, carrying corn.

σιτία, -ων, τά, food, provisions.

σιτοποιός, -ου, ὁ, ἡ, one who grinds corn in a mill; a baker.

σίτος, -ου, ὁ, corn, grain.

σιτοφόρος, -ον, carrying grain or provisions.

σκαιώτης, -ητος, ἡ, lefthandedness, gaucherie, stupidity.

σκάφος, -ους, τό, hull of a ship.

σκέλος, -ους, τό, leg.

σκενάζω, prepare, make ready, equip.

σκευή, -ῆς, ἡ, equipment, dress.

σκηνή, -ῆς, ἡ, tent, hut.

σκήπτομαι, σκήψομαι, ἐσκηψάμην, pretend.

σκιά, -ας, ἡ, shadow, shade.

Σκίαθος, -ου, ἡ, a small island in the sinus Thermaicus.

σμικρός, -ά, -όν, small, trifling.

σμύρνα, -ης, ἡ, myrrh.

σός, σή, σόν, *possess. adj. 2nd pers.*, thy, thine.

Σούσα, -ων, τά, capital of Susiana, the Shushan of the Bible. The palace of Darius has been excavated (1886).

σοφία, -ας, ἡ, wisdom, skill, intelligence.

σοφός, -ή, -όν, skilled, wise, prudent.

Σπάρτη, -ης, ἡ, capital of Laconia.

Σπαρτιάτης, -ου, ὁ, a Spartan.

σπείρω, σπερῶ, ἔσπειρα, sow, scatter like seed.

σπένδω, σπείσω, ἔσπεισα, pour a drink-offering; σπένδομαι, make a treaty.

Σπερχείος, -ου, ὁ, the Spercheius, a river of Thessaly.

Σπερχίας, -ου, ὁ, a Spartan, the son of Aneristos.

σπονδαί, -ῶν, αἱ, treaty, truce.

σταθμός, -ου, ὁ, station or stage on a road, halting-place; a day's journey.

στατήρ, -ῆρος, ὁ, a stater. The Persian gold stater was called Δαρεικός, and was worth about a guinea.

στέλλω, στείλω, ἔστειλα, set in order, equip, dispatch on an expedition; *Pass.*, start, set out.

στενόπορος, -ον, with narrow pass; as *noun*, στενόπορα, defiles.

στενός, -ή, -όν, narrow; τὰ στενά, *used as noun*, the narrows.

στερίσκω, deprive.

στήλη, -ης, ἡ, a block or slab set up as a monument.

στιγεύς, -έως, ὁ, one who punctures or tattoos.

στίζω, στίξω, ἔστιξα, stab, tattoo.

στόλος, -ου, ὁ, equipment, armada.

στόμα, -ατος, τό, mouth, width (of a trench).

στορέννυμι, στορῶ, ἐστόρεσα; *shortened form* στόρνυμι, *partic.* στορνύντες, strew; *pass.* ἔστρωτο, had been levelled, gone down.

στράτευμα, -ατος, τό, army.

στρατεύομαι, take the field, lead an army, march.

στρατηγέω, command an army, be in command.

στρατηγός, -οῦ, ὁ, leader of an army, general.

στρατηλασία, -ας, ἡ, expedition, campaign.

στρατηλατέω, lead an army.

στρατιώ, -ᾶς, ἡ, army.

στρατοπεδεύομαι, encamp, take up a position.

στρατόπεδον, -ου, τό, camp, an army encamped, army.

στρατός, -οῦ, ὁ, army.

Στρυμών, -όνος, ὁ, the Strymon, a river of Thrace.

σύ, σοῦ, *pron. 2nd person*, thou.

Σύαγρος, -ου, ὁ, Syagrus, a Lacedaemonian delegate.

συγγινώσκω, συγγνώσομαι, συν-έγνω, agree, admit one's error.

συγγνώμη, -ης, ἡ, a fellow-feeling, consideration, allowance, pardon.

συγχέω, -χεῶ, συνέχεα, pour together, obliterate, violate.

συγχώννυμι, -χῶσω, συνέχωσα, heap together, make into confused heaps, demolish.

συλλαμβάνω, -λήψομαι, συνέλαβον, συνείληφα, catch hold of, comprehend, help, contribute towards.

συλλέγω, -λέξω, συνέλεξα, collect, assemble.

σύλλογος, -ου, ὁ, assembly.

συμβαίνω, -βήσομαι, συνέβην, συμβέβηκα, come together, come to an agreement, coincide, fall out, happen.

συμβάλλω, -βαλῶ, συνέβαλον, συμβέβληκα, throw together, join; *Midd.*, put together, interpret.

συμβολή, -ῆς, ἡ, meeting, encounter.

συμβουλεύω, advise, counsel, recommend.

συμβουλή, -ῆς, ἡ, deliberation, debate.

συμμαχία, -ας, ἡ, alliance.

συμμάχομαι, -μαχοῦμαι, συνεμαχεσάμην, fight as an ally, be on the side of.

σύμμαχος, -ον, fighting on the side of, allied with; σύμμαχοι, allies.

συμμίγνυμι *or* συμμίσγω, -μίσω, συνέμιξα, *aor. pass.* συνεμίχθην, mix together, meet in close fight, engage.

σύμπας, σύμπασα, σύμπαν, all together; τὸ σύμπαν, generally.

συμφέρω, συνοίσω, -ήνεγκα, bring together, be of use, be profitable, happen, turn out.

συμφορά, -ᾶς, ἡ, event, circumstance, hazardous condition, mischance.

σύν, *prep. c. dat.*, along with, together with, not without.

συνάγω, -άξω, -ήγαγον, gather together, draw together, contract.

συναλίζω, assemble.

συναναβαίνω, go up with *or* together, go inland together.

συνάπας, -άπασα, -άπαν, all together; τὸ συνάπαν, the whole.

συνδιακινδυνεύω, share in danger.

συνέπαινος, -ον, joining in approval; οὐδαμῶς συνέπαινον ὄν, by no means consenting that . . .

συνέπομαι, -έψομαι, -εσπόμην, go with, follow closely.

συνέταρος, -ον, ὁ, companion, partner.

συνίστημι, συστήσω, συνέστησα (*trans.*), put together, combine; συνέστην, συνέστηκα (*intrans.*), stand together, be engaged with, arise, continue.

συννάσσω, -ναξω, -έναξα, pack closely together.

συννέω, -νήσω, -ένησα, pile up.

συνοῖδα, -είσομαι, -ῆδη, share knowledge, be cognizant of, know in one's own heart, be conscious of.

συνόμνυμι, -ομόσω, -ώμοσα, promise by oath, join in a league, conspire together.

συνταράσσω, -ταράξω, -ετάραξα, throw into confusion, upset the even tenor of one's life.

σύντομος, -ον, abridged; ὁδὸς συντομωτέρα, shorter route.

συντυχία, -ας, ἡ, coincidence, chance, combination of circumstances.

Συρακόσιος, -α, -ον, Syracusan.

σύστασις, -εως, ἡ, standing together, conflict.

συστροφή, -ης, ἡ, gathering.

συχνός, -ής, -όν, long, considerable, great.

σφαγιάζω, slay (as a victim), slaughter; *aor. pass. ἐσφαγιάσθην*.

σφάζω, σφάξω, ἔσφαξα, cut the throat, slay.

σφάλμα, -ατος, τό, fall, failing, defeat.

σφέις, σφῶν, οἱ, αἱ, *pl. of 3rd personal pron.*

σφέτερος, -α, -ον, *possess. adj. of 3rd pers. (σφέις)*, their, their own.

σχέλιος, -α, -ον, unflinching, merciless, cruel, abominable.

σχοινοτενής, -ές, stretched out like a measuring line; *σχοινοτενὲς ποιήσασθαι*, draw a straight line.

σῶμα, -ατος, τό, body.

σωτήρ, -ῆρος, ὁ, ἡ, saviour, deliverer.

σωφρονέω, be sound of mind, display good sense, prudence, *or* self-control.

τάλαντον, -ον, τό, balance, a definite weight, talent, which was either a weight used in commerce, e. g. in reckoning the tonnage of a ship, or a sum of money represented by such weight of gold or silver.

Ταλθυβιάδαι, -ῶν, οἱ, descendants of Talthybius.

Ταλθύβιος, -ον, ὁ, Agamemnon's herald.

τάξις, -εως, ἡ, arrangement, battle array, one's post in the line of battle.

ταπεινός, -ής, -όν, low, humble.

τάσσω, τάξω, ἔταξα, put in order, arrange; *pass. partic.*

τεταγμένοι *and* ταχθέντες, stationed, posted, appointed to a particular service.

ταῦρος, -ον, ὁ, bull, ox.

τάχα, *adv.*, quickly, at once;

τάχ' ἄν, probably, perhaps.

τάχος, -ους, τό, speed; *κατὰ τάχος*, speedily, hurriedly.

ταχύς, -εῖα, -ύ, swift; *τὴν ταχίστην*, *sc.* ὁδόν, by the quickest route; *ἐπεὶ τάχιστα*, as soon as.

τε, *enclitic particle*, and; *τε ... τε*, *τε ... καί*, both ... and.

τείχος, -ους, τό, wall.

τεκμαίρομαι, τεκμαροῦμαι, ἐτεκμηράμην, judge from signs *or* tokens, infer.

τεκμήριον, -ον, τό, sign, token, proof.

τέκνον, -ον, τό, child.

τελαμών, -ῶνος, ὁ, leathern strap, baldrick.

τελευταῖος, -α, -ον, last; *τὸ τελευταῖον*, the last time, in the end.

τελευτάω, complete, accomplish; *intr.* be accomplished, come to an end.

τελέω, τελέσω, ἐτέλεσα, finish, complete, reckon in full.

τέλος, -ους, τό, end, authority, a division of troops (as in English 'Command').

Τέμπη, -ῶν, τά, the valley between Olympus and Ossa.

τέρμα, -ατος, τό, boundary, limit.

τέρψις, -εως, ἡ, enjoyment, pleasure.

τεσσαράκοντα, *indecl.*, forty.

τέσσαρες, οἱ, αἱ, τέσσαρα, τά, four.

τέταρτος, -η, -ον, fourth.

τέτορες *Dor. for* τέσσαρες.

τετράκις, *adv.*, four times.

τετρακόσιοι, -αι, -α, four hundred.

τηνικαῦτα, *adv.*, at that time.

τιάρα, -ας, ἡ, Persian head-dress tiara, fez.

τίθηναι, θίσω, ἔθηκα, τέθεικα, place, set, make; *θεῖναι νόμον*, legislate (*used of a despot*); *θέσθαι νόμον* (*used of a democracy*); *ὄνομα θέσθαι*, assign or give a name; *γέλωτα θέσθαι*, make a man one's butt, ridicule him.

τιμάω, honour.

τιμωρέω, lend help to, avenge; *Midd.*, exact vengeance from, visit with punishment.

τιμωρός, -όν, helping; λόγος τιμωρός, a plea for vengeance.

τίνω, τίσω, ἔτισα, pay, repay; *ποιῆναι τίνειν*, pay retribution, be punished.

τις, *indef. pron. enclitic*, any one, some one.

τίς, *interrog. pron.*, who? which?

τοί, *enclitic particle*, let me tell you, you must know.

τοίνυν, therefore, accordingly.

τοιόσδε, -άδε, -όνδε, such as this, such as the following.

τοιούτος, -αῦτη, -οὔτο *or* -οὔτον,

such as (the aforesaid), so great, so noble, so bad.

τοιουτότροπος, -ον, of such kind.

τολμάω, dare, have the hardihood.

τόξευμα, -ατος, τό, arrow.

τόξον, -ον, τό, bow.

τοσοῦτος, -αῦτη, -οὔτο *or* -οὔτον, so great, so much; *adv.*,

τοσοῦτον, to such an extent.

τότε, *adv.*, at that time, then.

Τραχίνιοι, -ων, οἱ, the people of Trachis in Thessaly.

τρεῖς, οἱ, αἱ, τρία, τά, three.

τρέπω, τρέψω, ἔτρεψα, turn; *Midd.*, put an enemy to flight; *perf. partic. pass.*

τετραμμένος, having turned round, changed his mind.

τριακόσιοι, -αι, -α, three hundred.

τριηραρχέω, command a trireme.

τριήρης, -ους, ἡ, trireme, galley with three banks of oars.

Τροιζήνιος, -α, -ον, of Troezen in Argolis.

τροπή, -ῆς, ἡ, turning, change, rout.

τρόπος, -ον, ὁ, way, manner, fashion.

τυγχάνω, τεύξομαι, ἔτυχον, light upon, fall in with, chance;

with partic., happen to . . .

ἔτυχον παρών, I was actually present, I was present just then.

τυραννίς, -ίδος, ἡ, kingly power, despotic rule.

τύχη, -ης, ἡ, fortune, luck, chance.

ὑβρισμα, -ατος, τό, outrage, indignity.

Ὑδάριης, -ον, ὁ, a Persian, commander of the contingents from the coast towns.

ὑδρεύομαι, draw water.

ὕδωρ, -ατος, τό, water.

ὑμεῖς, *personal pron. 2nd pers.*, ye.

ὑμέτερος, -α, -ον, that which belongs to ὑμεῖς, your.

ὑπαίθριος, -ον, under the open sky, without shelter.

ὑπαρχος, -ου, ὁ, subordinate commander, viceroy.

ὑπάρχω, -άργω, -ἡρξα, make a beginning of.

ὑπείκω, -εἶξω, -εἶξα, retire, yield, give way.

ὑπεναντίος, -α, -ον, opposite, the reverse of.

ὑπέξειμι (εἶμι), go away secretly, withdraw gradually.

ὑπεξέρύω, draw out from under.

ὑπέρ, *prep. c. gen.*, over, on behalf of, instead of; *c. acc.*, over, beyond.

Ὑπεράνθης, -ου, ὁ, a son of Darius and Phratagune.

ὑπερβάλλομαι, surpass.

ὑπέρεχω, be above the surface.

ὑπερμεγέθης, -ες, very great.

ὑπό, *prep. c. gen.*, from under, beneath, by, ὑπὸ μαστίγων, under the fear of the lash; *c. dat.*, under, subject to; *c. acc.*, under, just about, ὑπὸ νύκτα, as night came on; *adv.*, under, behind.

ὑποδέχομαι, -δέξομαι, -εδεξάμην, receive, take in charge.

ὑποδύω, -δύσω, -έδυσα, undertake, take on oneself a duty or risk.

ὑποζύγιον, -ου, τό, a beast of burden.

ὑποκρίνομαι, -κρινοῦμαι, -εκρινάμην, answer.

ὑπολαμβάνω, -λήψομαι, -έλαβον, take up; ὑπολαβὼν ἔφη, he took him up with the remark, retorted.

ὑπομένω, -μενῶ, -έμεινα, stay behind, remain, stand one's ground, await attack.

ὑπόσπονδος, -ον, under a truce, protected by a treaty.

ὑποτίθημι, -θήσω, -έθηκα, place under; *Midd.*, suggest.

ὑποχέω, -χεῶ, -έχεα, pour, strew; *pass.* ὑποκεχυμένα, fallen and scattered.

Ὑστάσπης, -ου, ὁ, Hystaspes, the father of Darius.

ὑστατος, -η, -ον, *superl. adj.*, last.

ὑστεραίος, -α, -ον, happening on the next day; usually τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ, *sc.* ἡμέρᾳ.

ὑστερος, -α, -ον, *compar. adj.*, latter, later, after, next, subsequent; *adv.* ὕστερον.

ὑφίημι, -ήσω, -ήκα, put under, slacken, give in.

ὕψος, -ους, τό, height; *acc.* ὕψος, in height.

φαίνω, φανῶ, ἔφηνα, bring to light; *Midd. and Pass.*, be revealed, appear, seem.

φαντάζομαι, become visible, appear.

φαρετρεῶν, -ῶνος, ὁ, quiver.

φαρμικεύω, use enchantments.

φέρω, οἶσω, ἤνεγκα and ἤνεγκον, bear, carry, bring news, yield, produce, lead (as a road leads); *Pass.*, be carried against, charge.

φεύγω, φεύξομαι, ἔφυγον, πέφευγα, fly, escape.

φημί, φήσω, ἔφην, say; οὐκ ἔφασαν, refused.

φθάνω, φθήσομαι and φθάσω, ἔφθασα, outstrip, anticipate; *with partic.* ἔφθασεν ἐλθὼν, he came first; οὐκ ἂν φθάνοιτε ἀπαλλασσόμενοι, you could not be too quick in departing.

φθίω (φθίνω), φθίσω, ἔφθισα, decay; *pass. partic.* φθίμενος, dead.

φθονερός, -ά, -όν, jealous.
 φθονέω, be envious, grudge.
 φιάλη, -ης, ἡ, a bowl (for drinking or pouring libations).
 φιλέω, love, like, be wont.
 φίλος, -η, -ον, dear, friendly; *as a noun*, a friend.
 φοβερός, -ά, -όν, causing fear, alarming; *also Pass.*, scared.
 φοβέω, terrify; *Pass.*, be alarmed; *c. acc.*, be terrified at the prospect of.
 φόβος, -ον, ὁ, fear.
 Φοῖνιξ, -ῖκος, ὁ, ἡ, a Phoenician.
 φοιτάω, go to and fro, visit frequently, come regularly as imported goods.
 φονεύω, murder, slay.
 φορβή, -ης, ἡ, food, forage.
 Φόρμος, -ου, ὁ, an Athenian naval commander.
 φράζω, φράσω, ἔφρασα, point out, declare; *Midd. and Pass.*, consider, observe, notice.
 Φραταγούνη, -ης, ἡ, the mother of Abrokomes and Hyperanthes.
 φρέαρ, -ατος, τό, a well.
 φρήν, φρενός, ἡ, heart, mind; φρενῶν ἐς τὰ ἐμμαντοῦ πρῶτα, the highest point of my intention.
 φρονέω, think, hold such a view, intend.
 φρουρέω, keep watch, guard.
 φυγή, -ης, ἡ, flight.
 φυλακή, -ης, ἡ, guarding, guard, garrison; ἐν φυλακῇ ἔχειν, keep guarded.
 φυλάσσω, -άξω, ἐφύλαξα, keep watch *or* guard, keep a look out for; *Midd.*, avoid, think twice before.
 φύλλον, -ου, τό, leaf.
 φύσις, -εως, ἡ, nature, natural condition, birth.
 φύω, φύσω, ἔφυσα (*trans.*),

produce; ἔφυν, πέφυκα (*intrans.*), be by nature.
 Φωκεῖς, -έων, οἱ, Phocians.

χαίρω, χαίρῃσω, κεχάρηκα, *pass. aor.* ἐχάρην, rejoice; κεχαρηκότες, overjoyed.
 χαράσσω, -ξω, ἐχάραξα, sharpen, engrave, irritate; κεχαραγμένος, exasperated.
 χάρις, -ιτος, ἡ, grace, favour; χάριν ἔχειν, feel gratitude.
 χεῖρ, χειρός *and* χερός, ἡ, hand.
 χειριδωτός, -όν, having sleeves.
 χειρώω, -ώσω, *aor. pass.* ἐχειρώθη, bring under the hand, subdue, capture.
 χιλιάς, -άδος, ἡ, a thousand.
 χίλιοι, -αι, -α, a thousand.
 Χίλων, -ωνος, ὁ, a far-seeing Greek, who, with reference to Cythera, anticipated the view held by many with regard to Ireland, that the island would be more useful if submerged.
 χιτῶν, -ῶνος, ὁ, an under garment, shirt, tunic; τειχῶν χιτῶνες, defensive works—'clothing' defending the town.
 χοῖνιξ, -ῖκος, ἡ, a dry measure, about a quart.
 χοῦς, χοῦ, ὁ *and* ἡ, earth thrown down or heaped up, a mound.
 χράω, χρήσω, ἔχρησα, declare (used of gods and their oracles); *Midd.*, consult (make use of) an oracle, use, experience, manage, employ, avail oneself of; *Pass.* ἐχρήσθη, ἐκέχρηστο, the oracle was, had been, delivered.
 χρῆ, χρήσει, *imperf.* ἐχρήν *or* χρήν, *impers.*, it behoves, one ought to . . .

χρῆμα, -ατος, τό, a thing, matter;
in plur. goods, property,
money.

χρήσιμος, -η, -ον, and -ος, -ον,
useful, serviceable.

χρησολόγος, -ου, ό, an ex-
pounder or collector of
oracles.

χρησμός, -οῦ, ό, the answer of
an oracle.

χρησφδέω, chant or deliver
oracles.

χρηστήριον, -ον, τό, the seat or
answer of an oracle.

χρηστός, -ή, -όν, verb. adj. of
χράσμαι, to be used, fit for
use, serviceable, good.

χρόνος, -ου, ό, time; χρόνον,
awhile; χρόνῳ, in process of
time, after a time; ἐς χρόνον,
for the time to come.

χρυσίον, -ον, τό, a piece of gold,
gold.

χρυσός, -οῦ, ό, gold.

χρυσοῦς, χρυσή, χρυσοῦν, of gold,
golden.

χώρα, -ας, ή, country, land.

χωρίζω, separate; perf. pass.
κεχώρισμαι; πολὺ ἀλλήλων
κεχωρισμένα, things widely
different from one another.

χωρίον, -ον, τό, spot, district,
country.

χώρος, -ου, ό, a piece of ground,
land, country.

Ψαμμίτιχος, -ον, ό, the father of
Inaros.

ψεύδομαι, πνευσθήσομαι, ἐψεύ-
σθην, be cheated, deceived,
mistaken.

ψεύστης, -ου, ό, liar, cheat.

ψόφος, -ου, ό, sound, noise.

ψυχή, -ής, ή, breath, life.

ὦ, with vocat., O.

ὦδε, adv. of ὅδε, thus; ἔχοντα
ὦδε, to the following effect.

ὠθέω, ὥσω, ἔωσα, thrust, push.

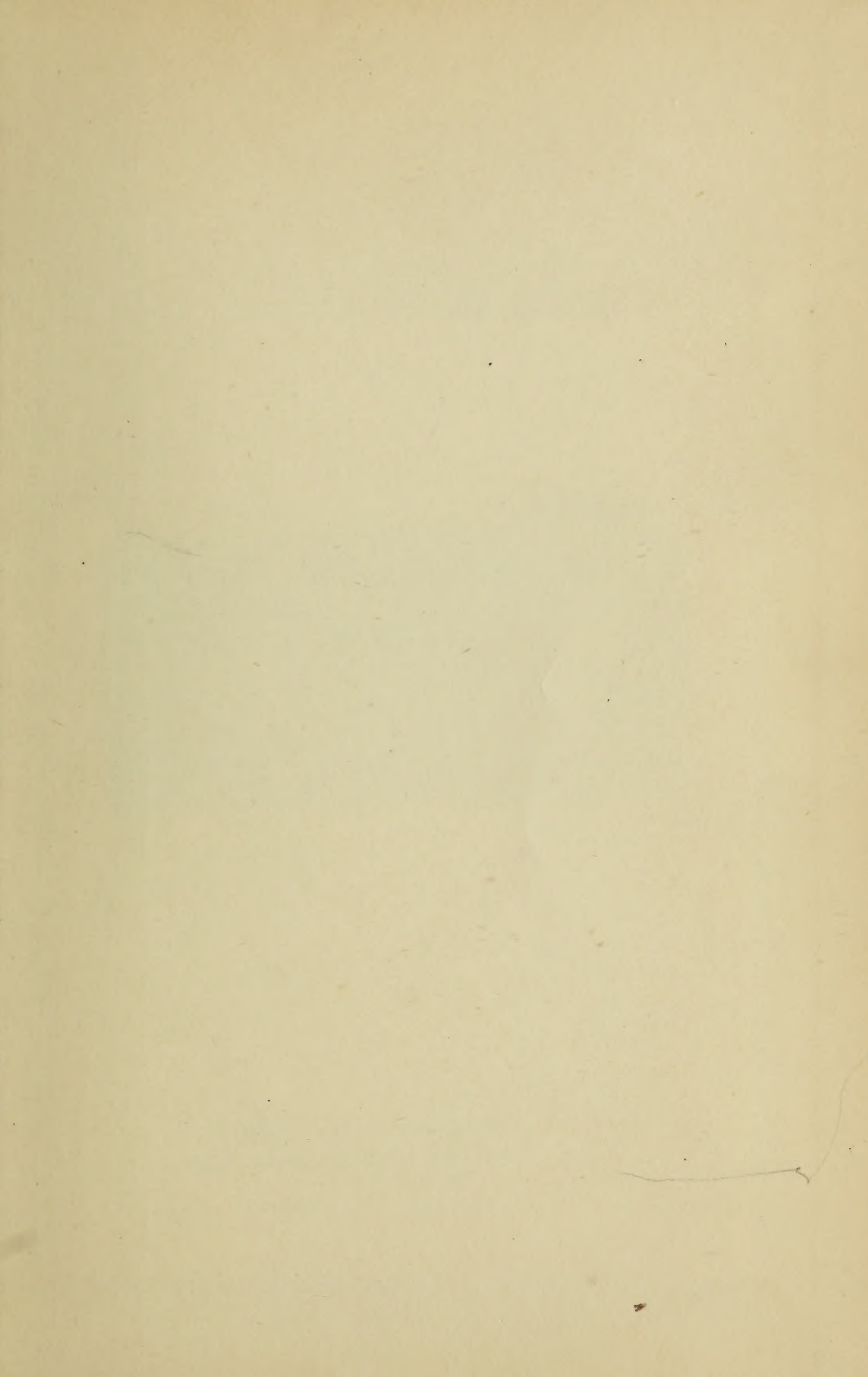
ὠθισμός, -οῦ, ό, thrusting, strug-
gling at close quarters.

ᾠρα, -ας, ή, any fixed period,
spring; δείπνουν ᾠρα, usual
time for a meal.

ὠφέλεια, -ας, ή, assistance.

ὥς, adv., as; with superl. adj.
or adv., as (many) as pos-
sible: ὥς πλείστους ἄγει =
ἄγει ὥς πλείστους ἄγειν δύνα-
ται; ὥς, with fut. partic.
expresses intention. Conj., in
order that, when, how. Prep.
c. acc., to.

ὥστε, conj., so as to, so that;
adv., as.



PA 4002 .A37 R7 1922 IMS
Herodotus.
Herodotus Book VII

PONTIFICAL INSTITUTE
OF MEDIAEVAL STUDIES
59 QUEEN'S PARK
TORONTO 5 CANADA

